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1964-65 NUMBER TWO

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THE TENTATIVE LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES IN 4TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN ORISSA

The stupendous task before the Government of Orissa is to bring its backward communities at par with the general population of the State in matters of education, economic upliftment, health and sanitation, etc. According to 1961 Census, Orissa has got a total population of 17,548,846 out of which population of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes comes to 4,223,757 and 2,763,838, respectively. The population of the Scheduled Tribes alone works out to 28.07 per cent of the total population, which next to Nagaland, is of the highest order among the States of India. The population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes taken together comes to 6,987,615 which works out to 39.80 per cent of the total population.

There are 62 tribes some of whom are in the lowest stage of socio-economic and educational development. Recently the tribes of the State have been categorised according to economic gradations. But of the 62 tribes some tribes like the Hillbonds, Lanjiaozors, Kudia Kondhs, Hilljatays, etc., occupying different areas of the State are in a state of extreme backwardness and they represent the most backward 'A' category tribes. Their population comes to more than 2½ lakhs. The other tribes are either in a stage of transition or already assimilated with the general community.

But on the whole the economic condition of all the tribes, more or less, is at a marginal stage. In view of the vast population of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and their economic and educational backwardness the State Government are confronted with serious problems for social and economic advancement of these backward communities.

In the past efforts had been made to improve the condition of the vast mass of backward population. Owing to various causes, the chief among which was the financial limitation, progress has been rather tardy. In the meantime particularly in tribal areas some phenomenal changes have taken place. Heavy industries and multipurpose projects have been and are being located in tribal areas. This has disturbed and displaced the tribal life and its economy. The Rourkela Steel Plant, Hirakud Dam, the Aero-Engines Factory, Balasore Dam, the Tiharpada Project are only a few of the Major Projects undertaken in tribal areas in the State. In Koraput district vast tribal areas have been reclaimed for the settlement of East Bengal Refugees under the Dandakaranya Project. All this have had far reaching effects on the life and psychology of tribals who are living under age exploitation, on bare subsistence economy. It has, therefore, been necessary to look at

the tribal problems in the above context. It is felt that comprehensive programmes much wider than what has been attempted in the past are necessary for the 4th Plan period. The 3rd Plan outlay was of the order of Rs. 841.67 lakhs only. In view of the Central Working Group of Backward classes' indication of the probable outlay of Rs. 230-275 crores for the 4th Plan period, the working group on long-term plan for backward classes in the State considered that the pace of development in the different sectors of improvement, viz., education, economic uplift, health and sanitation, etc., need be accelerated with adequate funds both under the State and the Central Sectors. The Working Group considered that in the tribal areas where large scale industries and projects are being established, it is necessary to train up the tribal youths to acquire technical skill in large numbers. The aspirations of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for higher education have to be fulfilled. The percentage of literacy amongst the Scheduled Tribes is still low being only 7 per cent and that of Scheduled Castes 11 per cent against 26 per cent of literacy of the general population of the State. Efforts are required to prevent exploitation by eliminating middlemen and by starting purchase and sale centres and consumer stores. Adequate credit facilities are required to be provided to enable the Adivasis and the Marques to take to improved agriculture and horticulture. Small and medium units of agricultural processing industries are required to be started to help the Adivasis to get full benefit of minor and major forest produce so as to enable them to improve their standard of living to a reasonably comparable extent. Large number of forest marketing and labour contract co-operative societies are required to be organized. Tribal areas are opening up and tribals who lived so long in seclusion are fast coming in touch with the other communities. It is, therefore, necessary to help the

tribals to take full advantage of the growing economy and also to keep them as contented as possible.

With a view to achieving these objectives the Working Group considered that adequate provisions for the 4th Plan should be made for the backward classes. The otherwise recommendations are stated below:—

STATE SECTOR

SCHEDULED TRIBES

Education

Ashram Schools—**Alight** *h r a s* Ashram Schools are to be opened by the end of Third Plan. About 4,000 boys and girls are reading in these institutions. As this type of institution has become popular among the tribals it is felt necessary to open more Ashram Schools. So 25 Ashram Schools are proposed to be opened during 4th Plan period for which a sum of Rs. 120 lakhs is required.

Pre-univ. Stipends—Government of India have expressed their views that the rate of stipend should be such that it would cover not only the maintenance charges but also cost of School uniforms and educational equipments. This objectives can be achieved by providing more funds for stipends. It is, therefore, proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs for giving stipends and reading and writing materials to about 100,000 students during the Fourth Plan period.

Hostels—As per the indication of the Government of India, every Middle and High School in tribal areas should be provided with hostels. 27 Special Adivasi Hostels, 66 M. E. School Hostels, 2 Non-commercial Hostels were opened both in the State and Central Sectors by the end of 2nd Plan. During the 3rd Plan period 125 Hostels will be provided to M. E. and H. E. Schools. It is proposed to provide 200 more Hostels to M. E. and High Schools and Colleges where necessary at a cost of Rs. 40 lakhs.

Teachers' quarters—For want of residential accommodation in the M. E. and Primary Schools including Sevashrams, the teachers working in tribal areas do not serve for longer periods and often unwilling to go to tribal areas. So, necessary provision was made for providing quarters for the teachers in the Primary Schools. During the 3rd Plan it would be possible to provide 336 teachers' quarters at a cost of Rs. 12-69 lakhs. The number of quarters is very small against the requirement. It is, therefore, proposed to provide 1,000 quarters for M. E. School teachers and 1,500 quarters for Primary School teachers including Sevaks at a cost of Rs. 125 lakhs during the 4th Plan period.

Aid to private schools—Since the number of Ashram Schools and Sevashrams are limited and a few thousand Scheduled Tribe students are admitted in these institutions, private efforts are to be encouraged for opening more institutions in the tribal areas. For opening educational institutions by private bodies in tribal areas, the local tribal people are to bear a part of the expenditure since full grant is not given by the Education Department. Tribal & Rural Welfare Department have made provision to meet the people's contribution. During the 3rd Plan no progress has been made so far as the Government of India approved the scheme recently. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs is expected to be spent by the end of the 3rd Plan. During the 4th Plan 50 High Schools, 100 M. E. Schools and 750 Primary Schools are proposed to be given financial aid for which a sum of Rs. 39 lakhs has been estimated. The rate is Rs. 10,000 for High School, Rs. 5,000 for M. E. School and Rs. 1,000 for Primary School.

Midday meals—This programme will be limited to the students of most backward tribal areas. The present practice is that Sevashrams of non-Block areas are to be provided with midday meals and that too in selected Sevashrams during the 4th Plan period

a co-ordinated programme with the C. D. & P. R. (C. D.) Department will be taken up and the funds of Tribal & Rural Welfare Department will be spent in the most backward tribal areas. During the 3rd Plan 230 midday meal centres are being opened annually and a sum of Rs. 7-18 lakhs is anticipated to be utilized by the end of the 3rd Plan. During the 4th Plan 200 centres are proposed to be opened annually at the rate of Rs. 9-12 P. per meal. A sum of Rs. 120, i per centre will be required in a year. For 1,000 centres a sum of Rs. 7-30 lakhs has been estimated.

Training Centres—There are at present 2 Training Centres and 2 Talem Kendras where teachers of Ashram Schools and Sevashrams are being trained, respectively. One Talem Kendra for training women teachers is being opened during the 3rd Plan period. This is only for Primary School teachers. During the 4th Plan period one more Training Centre is proposed to be opened for training Ashram School teachers at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs.

Chhatals—Many tribal villages do not have sufficient number of children to justify for opening L. P. Schools, nor they are able to go crossing jungles, hills and mountains to nearby village where Primary Schools or Sevashrams have been established. So, it has now been contemplated to open one Chhatal in such villages where at least 20 boys and girls would be available to read in classes I and II. It has been expected that in the villages of 50-200 population the minimum number of students would be available. 30 Chhatals have been opened during 1963-64 and 250 more will be opened during the remaining period. During the 4th Plan this type of institution will be opened in the most backward tribal areas. 250 Chhatals is proposed to be opened at a cost of Rs. 3-30 lakhs.

Residential Primary Schools—There are 4 Residential Primary Schools

and it is found that for expanding Primary Education among the most backward tribes Residential Primary Schools are the best. It is proposed to open 100 such schools during the 4th Plan at a cost of Rs. 30 lakhs for each school at least a sum of Rs. 25,000 would be required for buildings and a sum of Rs. 24,000 for the staff, boarding charges of students and other contingent expenditure.

Upgraded Sevenahams—There are at present 123 Upgraded Sevenahams against the 1,183 Sevenahams. The ratio comes to 1: 10 which is to be brought at least to ratio of 1:3 for more coverage of Upper Primary education of Scheduled Tribes. So, it is proposed to upgrade 100 Sevenahams to U. P. standard during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 2-50 lakhs.

Conversion of Ashram Schools into High Schools—Tribal students who are accustomed to Ashram School education often find it difficult to read in the High Schools. The care they are receiving for their health, food, clothing and education in the Ashram School is lacking considerably in the general High School. So, it is proposed to convert a few Ashram Schools into High Schools with residential accommodation and in lieu of stipend that they may ordinarily get, the students would be given food, clothing, etc. There are at present 83 Ashram Schools and 25 more are proposed for the 4th Plan, 25 per cent of it may be converted into High Schools. Sanabeda Ashram School is being converted into High School during 1964-65. So, it is proposed to convert 20 Ashram Schools into High Schools during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Providing Classes VIII and IX in existing Ashram Schools—Tribal students after passing class VII from

Ashram Schools get admission into High Schools of their respective locality and a selected few are brought to New Capital. It is found that a large percentage discontinues for their studies from High Schools and go back home, thus resulting in wastage. In the wake of industrialisation in the State a sum of technical personnel and artisans are required with lesser qualification say class IX or X. In order to provide scope for employment to the Scheduled Tribe boys it is proposed to open classes VIII and IX in the existing Ashram Schools. During the 4th Plan 10 Ashram Schools will be provided with classes VIII and IX for this purpose and a sum of Rs. 7-50 lakhs would be required for additional staff, students and providing additional accommodation, etc.

Nursery Schools—It is an accepted policy that before a student reads 3 Rs his mind should be trained to receive the education that will be given to him in his fifth year. Some bad habits crop up in the children, prior to coming to School have to be rectified. This requires special teachers of the children. Nursery (Pre-Primary) Schools are, therefore, thought as a remedy to develop the mind of the children. It is proposed to open 10 Nursery Schools at an experimental basis in the tribal areas for which a sum of Rs. 1 lakhs would be necessary during the 4th Plan period. For each school a sum of Rs. 30,000 is estimated.

Economic Uplift

Shift Control and Resettlement of shifting cultivators—The programme of Shift Control and Resettlement of shifting cultivators has been taken up during 3rd Plan period at a total cost of Rs. 11-00 lakhs. The amount is mainly utilised in concluding water shed management units for control of shifting cultivation and prevention of poda cultivation.

In 3rd Plan adequate funds are not available to take up comprehensive soil conservation measures on an extensive scale in the shifting cultivation regions. Due to limited Plan provision three Soil Conservation Demonstration-cum-Nursery Farms to demonstrate soil conservation measures relating to hill agriculture has been started. In these farms experiments on grass, fruit trees and other crops are being undertaken and suitable cases are demonstrated to the local people.

The resettlement programme and Tagayta method of cultivation will be correlated and it has been estimated that 20,000 families could be settled in suitable forest blocks where bench terracing would be introduced and the economy will be horticulture and forest based economy.

It has been roughly estimated that Rs. 20-00 lakhs would be required during 4th Plan period for implementation of this programme. Extensive Soil Conservation measure will be taken up in the resettlement areas.

Resettlement of 'A' category tribes—The tribal communities in Orissa should be classified under three broad categories such as (a) Most primitive, (b) Tribes in transition, and (c) Semi-aculturated or acculturated tribes in regard to their economic and social backwardness. According to the recent decision of Government the most primitive tribes are to be given special attention. The population of these most backward tribes is of the order of about 2 lakhs.

To bring them on par with the advanced sections of the population a scheme of Resettlement of 'A' category tribes has been taken up in the 3rd Plan period. The scheme aims at giving education to their children in a boarding type school and special attention is to be given to agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, cottage industries and other allied programmes. Good dwelling houses and drinking

water facilities are to be provided. It has been assessed that to deal with 1,000 population (200 families) living in a very backward area a sum of Rs. 10-00 lakhs at the rate of Rs. 5,000 for each family is necessary.

In the 3rd Plan programme a sum of Rs. 10-00 lakhs has been provided to establish one unit for the all-round development of 1,000 population belonging to 'A' category tribes. In order to cover up the entire programme for the benefit of 2 lakhs of 'A' category tribes, a total sum of Rs. 20 crores would be required phased for a number of years.

Since it is necessary to approach the problem in a systematic manner it is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 20-00 lakhs in the 4th Plan for 20 units for resettlement of 'A' category tribes.

Subsidies for Cottage Industries—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 3-00 lakhs. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs for expenditure during the 4th Plan period for giving grants and subsidies to trained craftsmen belonging to Scheduled Tribe for establishing themselves in crafts like tailoring, weaving, smithy, carpentry, etc.

Industrial Training of Scheduled Tribes—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 0-24 lakh. A sum of Rs. 10-00 lakhs has been proposed for payment of stipends to Scheduled Tribe students reading in different industrial schools of the State during the 4th Plan. Nearly 4,000 Scheduled Tribe students are coming out successful annually in the M. E. Examinations. Out of these about 2,000 students will be available for technical training provided they are given adequate incentives, i.e., adequate stipend and accommodation, etc.

Lac Cultivation—Cultivation of lac has considerable scope in tribal areas. The broad plants on which lac is cultivated are in the process of disappearing by deforestation that is taking place. These plants are sought

to be propagated in lands which are not suitable for cultivation. Considerable economic benefit will accrue to the tribal families out of this programme. The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 0.60 lakhs. A provision of Rs. 1.50 lakhs is proposed for 4th Plan for intensive programme.

Turkey Rearing—Rs. 1.50 lakhs has also been proposed for turkey rearing in the 4th Plan.

Poultry Rearing—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 1.1 lakhs. A provision of Rs. 15.00 lakhs has been proposed in the 4th Plan for opening 1 special unit, 50 deep-litter systems in Ashram Schools, economic units for 150 families, maintenance of 5 (100 layer units) with breeding facilities, one truck with necessary staff for supply of poultry feeds to the tribal units, capital for running a feed mixing centre for supply of pre-mixed feed to the tribal units and for the development of the poultry unit at headquarter. It has been estimated that about Rs. 4.00 lakhs for one special poultry unit and Rs. 4.00 lakhs for introducing deep-litter system in 50 Ashram Schools and Rs. 5 lakhs for 5 units of hundred layer unit, one truck and feed mixing centre will be utilised during 4th Plan period.

Piggery and Goat Breeding—The programme for development of piggeries has been undertaken during 3rd Plan period. Under this programme 1 piggery farm has been established. The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 0.46 lakhs. During 4th Plan period it is proposed to distribute 1,000 pedigree stock to 5,000 families at Rs. 100 each for which a sum of Rs. 5.00 lakhs is proposed.

Pisciculture—During 2nd Plan period 5 Pisciculture Centres were opened in the tribal areas at a cost of Rs. 1.54 lakhs. Under 3rd Plan one composite fish seed centre, 4 small fish seed centres and introduction of pisciculture in 20 Ashram Schools have been contemplated. To get the Scheme

more popular it is proposed to establish 20 Pisciculture Centres in Ashram Schools and 20 centres in tribal areas during 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 3.00 lakhs.

Graingolas—During 2nd Plan period 131 graingolas have been organised in tribal areas. 250 more golas would be opened by the end of 3rd Plan period. The objective is to provide one graingola to each of the Grama Panchayats in tribal areas. By the end of 3rd Plan there will be in all 1,001 golas. The target fixed by the T. & R. W. Department for providing graingolas in Grama Panchayats of tribal areas has already been achieved and as such no further provision for opening new golas is necessary. But in view of high cost of materials for construction of buildings it is necessary to provide funds for completion of golas. And for proper working of the graingolas supply of paddy on credit to the tribal would be essentially required. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for this purpose during the 4th Plan period.

Technical Training Institute—So far only one Industrial Training Institute at Takatpura has been established to impart training to Scheduled Tribes in different trades. But with the rapid growth of industrialisation in the State the demand for more technical hands is rising day-by-day. To meet the growing demands immediately steps are being taken to move Government of India for establishing 4 I. T. Is. during 3rd Plan period. Even these I.T. Is. will not sufficiently cater to the needs of the industrial establishments like Steel Plant at Rourkela, NIGC factory at Sambalpur, Ferro-manganese Plant at Keonjhar and Balinguda Project at Koraput coming up in tribal areas. It has been estimated that about 4,250 students belonging to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes will be available for undergoing technical training annually. The intake of students in the existing I.T. Is. of both T. & R. W. Department and Industries Department is not more than 250. So to attract more students

for the technical training it is necessary to open at least 2 I.T.I.s. with a capacity of 750 seats during Fourth Plan and the existing I.T.I.s. at Takatper will be expanded for admitting 750 students as against 260 at present for which Rs. 90.00 lakhs would be necessary.

Award of Prizes to tribal villages—In order to create enthusiasm among the tribals for co-operating in the development programme and to take full advantage of those programmes it has been decided to award prizes to the tribal villages. A Committee to be set up will select the best villages for award of prizes. A sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs for awarding prizes to 15 villages is proposed for Fourth Plan.

Rural Communication—A sum of Rs. 82.00 lakhs during Fourth Plan period would be necessary for construction of 750 miles of all-weather murrum roads and 20 culverts as the areas inhabited by most backward tribes are still inaccessible and require communication facilities as quickly as possible.

Small-Scale Industries—This is proposed to be taken up in the extremely backward areas in addition to the normal activities. In selected areas it is proposed to start units of small-scale industries. 9 such units at the rate of Rs. 50,000 each are proposed to be started in the Fourth Plan on the pattern of Panchayat Industries.

Development of Orchards in the Ashram Schools and in tribal settlements—At present there are 82 Ashram Schools including 18 Karyashrams functioning in the State. Each Ashram School has sufficient lands but they are not being properly utilised. It is proposed to plant mango, orange, guava trees, etc., in the Ashram Schools by acquiring more lands wherever necessary. In tribal settlements similar scheme will also be taken up. Orchards in an area of 20 acres is proposed to be taken up. There is no provision specifically for this during Third Plan. In the Fourth Plan period it

is proposed to take up 75 orchards in Ashram School and in tribal settlements at Rs. 30,000 each.

Supply of seeds, bullocks and implements to Scheduled Tribe Agriculture—As it has been decided by Government of India to give more stress on agriculture it is necessary to improve agricultural production in tribal areas by way of supplying improved seeds, bullocks and implements. It is, therefore, proposed to give subsidy to 1,000 families at Rs. 500 each for which Rs. 5.00 lakhs for Fourth Plan is necessary.

Establishment of Demonstration Farms—To lay more stress on agricultural programme and to adopt improved method of agriculture it is proposed to establish demonstration farms in tribal areas. To start with, it is necessary to establish 5 such farms in Fourth Plan for which Rs. 3.00 lakhs has been suggested. These farms will go a long way in introducing new crops and new strains for which there is scope in tribal areas. The scheme will be executed through Director of Agriculture with the funds of T. & R. W. Department. This is a new venture.

Minor Irrigation—The programme of Minor Irrigation in tribal areas needs specific attention of the State Government as agriculture without irrigation in these areas will not be feasible. 75 M.I. Projects are proposed to be started with a cost of Rs. 60.00 lakhs during Fourth Plan period.

Health, Housing and other Schemes

Drinking water-supply—The problem of drinking water-supply in the tribal areas is as acute as it was before. So far no appreciable progress has been made owing to many difficulties. By the end of Second Plan about 4,469 wells have been sunk and during the Third Plan period another 1,345 wells are expected to be dug in the tribal areas. This is only about 25 per cent of the total requirement of the tribal areas. During a discussion with the Chairman of the Drinking Water-Supply Board,

be advised for providing piped water-supply and giving preference to difficult and scarcity areas. The present programme of piped water-supply is for covering villages with 2,000 or more population. There are about 60 villages in the most backward and tribal areas. It has been estimated that about Rs. 1.30 lakhs would be required for such a project in tribal areas. As the water-supply programme is more urgent at view of the health and sanitation of the tribal areas, at least 30 villages may be included in the 4th Plan for which a sum of 39-00 lakhs would be required. Besides in other areas wells, tanks, etc., may also be provided. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for sinking 4,500 wells.

Anti-Leprosy Campaign—Like Yaws Leprosy is also widespread among the tribes. So far no special steps have been taken for treatment of these patients for which a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been proposed during 4th Plan.

Treatment of F. D.—As this disease is commonly prevalent among the tribes, continued effort is necessary to give proper treatment. This scheme may be continued during the 4th and 5th Plan periods. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh is proposed for each Plan period. About 35,000 persons would be treated during each Plan period.

Mobile Health Units—The scheme was contemplated to provide medical facilities to every village in tribal areas where such facilities are wanting. By the end of the 3rd Plan, 14 units would be working. But for want of medical staff the units are lying unoperated for a long time. However, 10 units are proposed for the 4th Plan. The cost of organising one unit with necessary staff equipment and vehicle is estimated at about Rs. 10,000. Taking into account the annual recurring expenditure during the Plan period, a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs is suggested.

Allopathic Dispensary—By the end of Second Plan only 11 allopathic dispensaries could be opened. No provision

could be made for opening dispensaries during Third Plan period as the general health programme expected to meet the demands of tribal areas. But it was not possible in the general health programme. So it is necessary that some provision should be made in the Backward classes sector for opening dispensaries in tribal areas. During the Fourth Plan it is proposed to open 20 Allopathic dispensaries for which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs would be necessary.

Six-bedded Hospital—By the end of Second Plan 20 hospitals were opened. There is no programme in the Third Plan for opening six-bedded hospitals. However, as some pressing demands come for opening a few hospitals, a proposal has been made to Government of India to open six-bedded hospitals during the last two years of Third Plan. Since there is great demand at least 20 six-bedded hospitals may be opened during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 28 lakhs has been estimated.

Ayurvedic Dispensary—11 Ayurvedic dispensaries were opened by the end of Second Plan. As in the case of Allopathic dispensary no provision could be made for Ayurvedic dispensary during the Plan. As Allopathic doctors and medical technicians, pharmacists etc., are not available in adequate numbers opening of Ayurvedic dispensaries in the tribal areas would meet with the demand for medical treatment to a great extent. It is proposed to open 20 Ayurvedic dispensaries during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs would be required.

Housing facilities—It has been indicated by the Government of India in their interim report on Fourth Plan that housing problem of the tribals is not as acute as that of the Scheduled Castes. So high priority should be given to schemes like rehabilitation of shifting cultivators or re-settlement of those displaced by development projects. Even here, Government assistance may be in the form of supply of building

material and some cash assistance, leaving the tribes to be their own masters according to their own choice and taste. The Government has decided on providing housing facility to the tribes. The Government has also proposed to take up 1,000 houses each costing about Rs. 1,200.

Aid to non-Official Organizations—For quicker development of social and cultural activities in the country the role of voluntary organizations is considerable. In order to encourage a non-governmental organization financial assistance needs to be given. During the 3rd Plan period about 23 organizations have been given financial assistance for developmental work in the tribes. Area-wise the likely expenditure would be about Rs. 5-60 lakhs by the end of 3rd Plan. Some 15 organizations in the tribes are working, in preparation of the 4th Plan, the amount is expected to be Rs. 10 lakhs by the end of the 4th Plan period.

Legal Aid to Tribes
Rs. 10 lakh has been proposed for the 4th Plan to give legal aid to Scheduled Tribes to fight out cases of land acquisition, etc.

Administrative Staff—The administrative staff of the tribes is not up to the mark. There is a lack of trained staff in the field for supervision, etc. In the tribal areas there is a lack of civil staff like engineering personnel and clerical staff, etc. in the district revenue, etc. departments. Moreover, no adequate provision for quarters has been made for the field staff. At the district level, the revenue inspectors and developmental officers like district level, residential accommodation will have to be provided. It is proposed to make a provision of Rs. 25 lakhs during the 4th Plan for additional staff and quarters out of which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs would be spent for providing quarters and the rest for staff.

Cultural Organizations among the Tribes—Since the tribes are culture, dance and music are in a decaying stage it is proposed to revive them by special measures. As a first step in this direction some open air theatres at the tribal

areas will be opened in the pattern of open air theatres provided in rural areas in the rest of India.

The theatre will be in the form of a raised platform of 30 x 40' with an oval or semi-circular shape. Pianos, gramophones, typewriters and will be provided in the vicinity of the theatres. Musical instruments, singing, dancing, etc. will be the back drop, etc. Spectacles, radio, library books, games, articles, etc., will also be supplied. It is estimated that a sum of Rs. 10 lakh will be necessary for organizing one open air theatre. To start with theatres will be opened in the tribal areas of the districts of Jharkhand, Sundergarh, Jharsuguda, Rayagada, Sambalpur, Nayagarh, Kalahandi and Sundergarh. A sum of Rs. 2-50 lakhs has been proposed for the 4th Plan.

It has also been contemplated to take up research work for the development and preservation of tribal music, dance, etc.

Special Publicity Unit—Owing to heavy concentration of more backward 'A' category Scheduled Tribes in Koraput district, a large number of special schemes are being taken up which will be further intensified during the Fourth Five-Year Plan period.

It has been felt necessary to provide a Special Publicity Unit for apprising the Adibasi of the special schemes and for securing their co-operation in the implementation of the schemes. It is proposed to set up this unit during the Third Five-Year Plan period for which Government of India have already been approached. A provision of Rs. 10 lakh has been retained for the remaining years of the Third Five-Year Plan. The scheme will continue to operate during the Fourth Plan.

4. **REVENUE EXPENDITURE**

Revenue

Revenue Stipends—It has been indicated in the interim report of Fourth Plan that the rate of stipend should be such as to cover the maintenance

cost, school uniform and educational equipment. The number of stipends and lump grants should have to be increased. Besides, reading and writing materials also be given to the students in each year of the plan period. For both these programmes a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs has been proposed during the Fourth Plan. About 150,000 students would be benefited.

Hostels—By the end of Second Plan 42 hostels were allotted to different educational institutions. During the Third Plan period 60 hostels would have been provided to M. H. Schools and High Schools, in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Bargarh, Jharsuguda and Gajapati where a large number of Scheduled Caste students are and 1000 students in 125 hostels during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs has been provided.

Ashram Schools—Scheduled Caste students are more advanced than the Scheduled Tribes. No specific provision is made for opening Ashram Schools for girls. But for girl students some special consideration is necessary. For Scheduled Tribe girls about 18 Ashram Schools have been opened so far. So it is recommended that 10 Ashram Schools should be opened for Scheduled Tribe girls during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 2.50 lakhs. The Government of India has strongly recommended for opening Ashram Schools for Harijan students.

Residential Primary Schools—In Mysore districts and N. A. C. for Jaffrey's children—The problems of sweepers have drawn the attention of both Government of India and the State Government and for the improvement of their living conditions various measures are being taken. For educating their children a special arrangement is proposed to open at least 3 residential Primary Schools in the existing pattern of residential school for Scheduled Tribes for which a sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs would be required during the Fourth Plan period.

Development of Caste

Land—For Scheduled Caste people for permanent improvement of their land or cultivated Caste people do not have their own land or have no land. They have been giving waste and fallow land to these people. Seeds, fertilizers, seeds, bullock, and agricultural implements are being provided to Scheduled Castes. During Third Plan it is expected Rs. 3.25 lakhs will be spent.

To encourage the Scheduled Castes in the practice of agriculture it has been proposed to provide Rs. 6.00 lakhs for the Fourth Plan.

Cottage Industries—The scheme aims at giving subsidies to trained craftsmen belonging to Scheduled Castes for setting up their units of like spinning, weaving, utility carpentry, etc. The sum of Rs. 1.50 lakhs for Fourth Plan and Rs. 3.00 lakhs for the Fifth Plan has been proposed under this programme.

Widows' Cooperatives—The widows here are very poor and have no land or property given to them directly or indirectly. They are compelled to earn their living through co-operative units or by forming collective widows' units. A number of widows will work together under this scheme. A sum of Rs. 3.00 lakhs is proposed for Fourth Plan for organizing 10 societies.

Industrial Training—Rs. 1.00 lakhs has been proposed for the Fourth Plan for giving stipends to about 1000 students in different industrial and technical training institutions.

Health, Housing and other

Drinking Water-Supply—By the end of Second Plan 923 wells could be provided to the Scheduled Caste population. The aim for the Fourth Plan is 833 wells. Since the Scheduled Caste population is dispersed among the general population facilities for drinking water supply have to be provided in such places where majority

of the tributaries are Scheduled Castes. Instructions have been issued to Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis for locating wells. As no specific data are available to assess the requirement of drinking water facilities for Scheduled Castes it is proposed to dig 1,000 wells during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs.

Housing During the Third Plan housing for the tributaries was conceded to the sweepers and scavengers engaged in the public health. During the Second Plan 80 units of houses were constructed for the Scheduled Castes. This facility may be extended to Scheduled Castes during the Fourth Plan period. Provision for training for sweepers and scavengers would be made in the Central Sector. It is proposed to construct 1,000 units of houses during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs at Rs. 1,200 for each house.

Housing sites—In the state sector this scheme has been introduced during 1964-65. Many of the Scheduled Castes do not have the right to building houses. In this case it has been proposed that the Scheduled Castes families can be given maximum assistance up to Rs. 500 for purchase of land. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs during the Fourth Plan for 1,000 families.

Land and its Resources—Through the scheme there has been a significant stage. Second Plan is upon, while result has been not even so far perhaps because of want of necessary publicity and proper way of making out cases for being a tribal. In practice, Non-adequate tribal areas have failed to enable the people to avail themselves of the opportunity. A sum of Rs. 10 lakh is proposed for the Fourth Plan.

Grassroots aid to non-official organisations—In order to encourage the non-official organisations a sum for the benefit of Scheduled Castes Governmental Assistance is also necessary. The D. C. L. which is doing a good deal of work need be given

sufficient financial assistance. Government of India have instructed not to make separate provision for D. C. L. So for all these sub-official organisations a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs has been provided for the Fourth Plan. During this period these institutions may try to be self-supporting.

CENTRAL SECTOR

Scheme 120: Tribal

Education

Girls' Hostels During the Third Plan the proposal for girls' hostels were initiated by the Government of India. During the First Plan per unit of such hostels would be opened at a cost of Rs. 3-75 lakhs. During the Fourth Plan 16 more hostels will be opened which may be located at the district and sub-district headquarters where Governmental and M. L. Schools are opened. A sum of Rs. 11.50 lakh has been estimated for a hostel. For opening 16 such a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs would be necessary during the Fourth Plan period.

Post-matric Scholarship—The award of scholarship in Rs. 1,000/- has enabled Scheduled Tribe students to prosecute their studies. The scheme has been approved and the concerned government and a state also suggested for continuation of the programme. By the end of the First Plan a sum of Rs. 8-92 lakhs was to have been spent bringing 6,000 students. The average amount expended is to be nearly Rs. 1,500. During the Fourth Plan a sum of Rs. 14 lakhs is proposed for awarding scholarships to about 2,000 students.

Residential Streamlines for Girls—During the Second Plan 6 Residential Streamlines were opened for boy students. Roads for which were provided in the Central Sector. Some more Residential Streamlines are being opened during the year 1964-65 in the State Sector. A few such Residential Primary Schools for Scheduled Tribe girl students need be opened to afford

Economic Strength

the 2nd Plan & Special Multi-purpose
Blocks, were used. M.P.
Block had a schematic budget of Rs. 21
lakhs, Rs. 13 lakhs from the C. D.
Majlis and Rs. 13 lakhs from the
M. P. The 2nd Plan
period these 4 S. M. P. Blocks were

Approved to be opened. T. D. BROWN
S. J. BROWN

1970-71
1971-72
1972-73

Rs. 3 bath each is given by both the

estimated. On the basis of the number of T. D. Blocks sanctioned during the 3rd Plan a sum of Rs. 481 lakhs would be necessary for 42 T. D. Blocks during the 4th Plan period to be constructed as Stage I and Stage II Blocks. In cases T. D. Blocks will be opened on the basis of 1961 Census population for which a sum of 224 lakhs is estimated. Besides, ad hoc grant at Rs. 2,000 for every 1,000 Scheduled Tribe population

by the Government of India. 152 C 13
Blocks will qualify for ad hoc grant
and a sum of Rs. 31.18 lakhs would be
necessary. Thus in all a sum of
Rs. 746.18 lakhs would be necessary for
13 C Blocks during the 11th Plan
Period.

*Service Co-operatives Purpose and
Role Under—A number of service co-
operatives are necessary to be opened
during the six Plan for giving easy*

By the Sahukars and other middlemen, a sum of Rs. 24 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan.

Forest Co-operatives, etc.— Forest Co-operative Societies help the tribal people in building and strengthening their forest economy. 21 Forest Co-operatives opened during the 2nd Plan are running smoothly in spite of odds and difficulties faced from the contractors. During the 3rd Plan period, 56 societies would be opened. As the forest area in the State is vast and there is ample scope to take full advantage of the forest wealth, it is proposed to

along 100 accidents at the rate of Rs. 40,000 each working capital Rs. 30,000 and building and staff subsidy Rs. 10,000 during the 4th Plan. Some preparatory and administrative staff will be necessary for the smooth working of the scheme.

the precarious method of pods or shifting the hill slopes, the climate conditions affected the soil resulting in soil erosion and forming of great fissures in hilly areas. A very little effort has so far been made to check the soil erosion. During the 2nd Plan only a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs could be provided in the T & R. W. programme for soil conservation. The 3rd Plan provision has been apportioned in the 4th Plan. It is, therefore, considered necessary

Global variables to be registered

He can consider the following two
alternatives. A sum of Rs 120
lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan. As
there was a Central Sector Scheme during
the 3rd Plan and has the greatest importance

tribal economy for selecting has been proposed to be included in the Central

Health, Housing and ageing

Research and Training.—The role of the central work of group giving some guidance in this field has been accepted by the Research Institute for the drawing up programmes for

T R B. Formation of adequate staff at the T R B schools were to be of great problems, but the progress is now. The T R B is seen as a solution to some of the many difficulties that have been faced with the reorganization of the we have in a short time made in the T R B schools and we are looking forward to the day when we will be better prepared to meet the needs of the Head of Officers. I am glad to say that amongst these developments is the opening of a new school at the beginning of this year. This school, which is situated in the town of Tumaco, has been opened and

10-TRIGM 1530 1

Other issues

For the year 1948 the Scheduled
Caste and Scheduled Tribes will be
opened in the 3rd Plan. During the
4th Plan the number of seats will be
increased to 100.

Portion of Figure 3. The 100 ft. of sand and shale 100 ft. thick were all cut back in the sandstone band above the dolomite. All the dolomite is gone. The 100 ft. of shale may be cut back in the sandstone by the 40 ft. shale.

Other symptoms

From: *Review of the evidence made available at Scutari and its surroundings. A memorandum was drawn up in English, etc.*

Huang et al.

Professor N. Venkatesh During the visit
Plan members in the sum of Rs. 3,000 would
be spent on buying of reward and awards
grants to the students. The
expenses I demand for the reward
Grant is Rs. 1,000 and same are
included in the Schedule. Tribes list
Plan for 2010 Plan is prepared to
provide a sum of Rs. 4,000 for reward
- a reward and award grant and
reading merit no expenses.

Post-matric Scholarship—Government of India in their interim report in 4th Plan have released for giving Post-matric Scholarship to the denoted tribes. Due to very limited population the number of post-matric students may be very much rated. As such a small provision of Rs. 40,000 has been proposed for the 4th Plan for awarding scholarship to 4 students.

Residential Schools—During the 3rd Plan 3 residential schools would be established for the denoted tribes including one for girls. As the number of students would be small, 2 more schools are proposed for 4th Plan at a cost of Rs. 9 lakhs.

Other Schemes

Collegiate Housing—During the 3rd Plan about 100 units of houses would be provided to the denoted tribes at a cost of Rs. 1.50 lakhs. It is proposed to provide 525 in the units of houses during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 4.45 lakhs. Each unit of house will cost about Rs. 8,500.

Schools for Agriculture and Industrial Aids—A sum of Rs. 1.40 lakhs would have been spent by the end of 3rd Plan for a wing and a about 200 persons. During the 4th Plan a sum of Rs. 2.50 lakhs may be provided for giving agricultural and industrial aid to about 300 persons.

Scaling of Water—Eighty wells would have been built for the denoted tribes at the end of 3rd Plan at a cost of

Rs. 1.20 lakhs. Since these people are living in the district of Kocaput much work of wells etc. can't more in that area due to hilly tract and difficult terrain. A sum of Rs. 1 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan for work about 150 wells.

State Co-operatives for Described Tribes—The special working group on co-operation for backward classes have recommended for organizing co-operatives in which has been generally accepted by the Government. It is proposed to organize 10 co-operatives during the 4th Plan. Each co-operative may be given a subsidy of Rs. 20,000 towards a long capital management, etc. through the Registrar Co-operative Societies so that the latter will have control and supervision on these co-operatives. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs would therefore be necessary during 4th Plan.

In short the working group of backward classes for 4th Plan recommended for the 4th Plan an outlay of Rs. 14.3 crores under the State Sector as against Rs. 4.52 crores during the Third Plan and Rs. 11.8 crores under Central Sector as against Rs. 1.79 crores for the 3rd Plan. In other words the 4th Plan outlays of the working group are of the order of Rs. 21.12 crores under both the State and Central Sectors as against the Third Plan outlays of Rs. 6.31 crores as those in the following table.

Category	Third Plan Outlay	Proposed outlay for 4th Plan
STATE SECTOR		
Scheduled Tribes	Rs. in lakhs.	Rs. in lakhs
	113.00	1,368.00
Scheduled Castes	39.00	183.50
	—	—
	452.00	1,551.50
CENTRAL SECTOR		
Scheduled Tribes		
	542.63	1,090.19
Scheduled Castes	72.25	72.50
Described Tribes	9.70	19.10
	572.58	1,181.79
Grand Total	941.67 or 9.42 crores	27.7221 or 27.72 crores

The problem of defining the term 'tribe' has been taken up afresh and experts from the ranks of research and administration are applying their minds to the new meaning of the term. It may appear somewhat surprising, that when three plans have been worked out successfully and the country is getting ready to launch the Fourth Plan and when the development of the tribal people had been a significant feature of all the plans we should still be worrying about problems of definition. There is, however, nothing wrong about the problem of definition at this stage of research and a term 'tribe' is not a name of any term, which has empirical reference to human phenomena can be treated as final. A definition undergoes changes - in light of fresh data acquired through further research. This should be especially so in case of the term 'tribe'. When we began to formulate plans for the development of the tribal people, we had to start with an ad hoc definition of the term based on such information which was available at the time. After 40 years of planning and research, an attempt has been made and a new definition has been brought under focus. This certainly needs to be done in a new concept. It is, therefore, imperative upon our planners, administrators and researchers, workers to take up the problem with all seriousness.

While taking up the problem one is confronted with a multiplicity of definitions. Many of these definitions have

ever conflicting meaning. This definitely complicates our problem. This should not however be taken as specific to the problem of defining the term 'tribe'. In the field of social science, the problem of defining a social unit goes far beyond the tribal level. I am referring to the community village. This, though a common application, has not yet been satisfactorily defined so as to be acceptable to various schools of thought. The task before us, therefore, is to compare and analyse the different definitions and to make efforts to arrive at a synthesis. Such synthesis may not be achieved at once, it may not even be possible in near future but the attempt should be continued.

When attempting to define the term 'tribe', it is necessary to do our utmost to recollect the needs of man. It has been the practice hitherto to us a to attempt to start with certain existing terms and conceptual models. They go on analysing these terms and examining the needs of the groups of people. Ultimately it results in focusing attention more on the terms rather than the people. In my opinion it is necessary to start afresh. We must accept, *a priori*, that certain groups of people do exist, who are marked by comparative isolation, have customs, beliefs and practices which differ from the majority of the people and, above all, the planning and execution of whose development pose problems different from others when socio- and cultural factors are

takes into consideration. Speaking in other words we should start with a simple and a recognizable group of people and our attempt at definition should be geared towards identifying the common characteristics which are common to all. This method is called the *method of inclusion* and it means including some and rejecting others, on the basis of certain existing definitions. This procedure may be followed in solving the problem at a more subtle theoretical level by anthropologists and sociologists working in academic spheres. They may carry on their research to achieve theoretical clarity about the concept. The method suggested here is an operational one meant to be effective in an action frame of reference.

To tackle the problem of definition in an action frame of reference we may have to recognize certain problems. These problems need to be tackled and resolved. I shall enumerate some of these problems and seek to analyse them in the light of our experience in administration and research.

It is argued by a section of anthropologists that the tribes have no claim to be considered as social organizational entities. This is because they coincide along with castes and clans the various strata of the Indian society. Here at least there is no autonomy of the tribes. However, it is surprising that, though reluctant to accord any organizational status to such a clearly recognizable group as 'tribe' they nevertheless do not hesitate to impose the same on some other tribes. Such tribes as the *Garos* and *Assamese* are considered as social organizations. A group of people who are related and are a part of society but do not fit into the recognized social categories of the Indian society in the way that castes and clans are. If this happens to be universal, cultural and social norms which characterize all human societies then I may be forced if I assert that 'I violate the basic principle of anthropological analysis. The status of a society is determined

not on the basis of observed universal characteristics but on the organization of specific entities. If we fail to recognize the social status of such organization among the primitive tribes it will be an important fact. The economy of the Konds-Kaeth, the religion of the Langas, the social organization of the *Garos* and the *Assamese* are some of the particular types of organization which make these tribes distinct from others. Apart from these primitive tribes there are others who have been subjected to centuries of intimate culture contact and yet maintain some of the essential characteristics of tribal culture. The *Gonds* of Nowrang and *Sambalpur* in Orissa have a culture-oriented feeling of antagonism towards Brahmins. They have also a culture-oriented feeling of enmity with the *Biharis* and *Kaeths*. All these are in keeping with the migratory history of the tribe. The *Kasars* of *Sambalpur* and *Sundargarh* and *Khurda* in Orissa have distinctive language and social customs, which are not to be found among their neighbours. A section of *Basils* living in the *Mayurbhanj* district of Orissa and the *Chittagong* division of Bihar have even gone a step ahead. They are taking the help of modern methods of research to establish their complete non-identity with the Indian society. Thus the cementing factor of social organization is the presence of contra-culture. It is true that the *Garos* and *Assamese* from various regions of India if the two factors do not establish the same the status of tribal society is lost. It is doubtful whether social and cultural differences can at all be regarded as a possible area of study. It is true that tribes who come into contact with other groups sometimes lose some or all of their distinctive social features but it is curious to put forward this as an argument. It is true that the present state of social organization tribe is a nonentity in India. When a particular group is denoted as a tribe

it does not mean that it would remain a tribe in perpetuity. All social groups are susceptible to change and yet they are distinguishable as groups. I do not understand why should one grudge this inevitable fact in case of tribes.

Another argument which challenges the status of tribe as a social entity is that as an entity it is not scientifically measurable. This argument is based on an inadequate understanding of the scientific measurability of social groups. The boundaries of a society are not comparable to clear-cut lines on one side of which a society abruptly comes to an end and on the other side another society begins with equal abruptness. Social boundaries are only comparable in different shades of colour gradua¹ moving into one another. While defining tribe we need not however be so much concerned about borders. Our main concern should be with the core of their culture and society.

Scientific measurability can be achieved in respect of term 'tribe' if our research is oriented towards isolating three factors which form the core of tribal society and culture. A definition in this respect can be given by the classical definition pertaining to which a tribe is: "A group of people inhabiting a contiguous territory speaking a common dialect, practicing the same customs, beliefs and practices and forming a socially self-sufficient unit." When I say that this definition can give no guidance, I never mean that it is inadequate and precise. What I mean is that this defini² can provide us with a suitable starting point. I am fully conscious about the inadequacy of the definition firstly because the three characteristics, contained in it admit of degrees. A further reason in considering this definition as inadequate is that its contents have yet to be enriched by the latest developments in the science of anthropology and by modern techniques of research. Guidance should be taken of such areas of study as culture-personality, social

structure, social and cultural dynamics, culture, linguistics and human ecology. Researches in these areas should be conducted under an integrated programme.

Stony references are sometimes quoted from ancient texts to prove that the sphere of social-integration contained the tribal people in ancient India. If one studies some of these quotations and the mass of their presentation, one cannot but be convinced that the arguments advanced on these authority are more in the nature of manipulations than logical conclusions. These stony references never objectively prove that there was any actual integration of the tribal society with the Hindu society. Even if we keep aside contextual considerations and confine our attention to the texts themselves, we can never ascertain that the codifiers of social law in ancient India were ever concerned about the problem of integration of tribal people with their society. On the contrary there is enough evidence to show that they were haunted by a fear of contamination and recklessness of a feeling - i.e. a superiority based on a belief that the tribal people belong to an altogether different species and incapable in their thought process. This position becomes clear when, instead of treating the term 'tribe' in abstract, we make reference to concrete group of people.

The same theme is carried over to apply in modern conditions when it is pointed out that some sections of tribal people have regular contact with certain caste-groups and in some cases they have even developed symbiotic relationships. In addition to this, conscious and well-organized movements, which have Hindu values as their goals have also been launched among the tribal people under the initiative of tribal leaders themselves. As I have pointed out elsewhere all these go to show that changes are taking place among the tribal people and these changes point out that tribes do exist as social entities and

whether these changes can obliterate their separate social existence can be ascertained by studying the direction of these changes. This raises a point which is more important than mere physical inclusion. Physical inclusion can be facilitated by stipulating a minimum. By the type of inclusion which we envisage as being of a true non-group feeling complete with an absence of hostility towards others, provides a real problem for the researcher in the research workers. For we wish to widen despite this type of inclusion instead of breaking it. It is true that certain tribal groups adopt the diets and customs of other people when they come into contact with them. But adoption of these traits does not break up the social entity of the group.

[REDACTED]

On the other hand, there is abundant evidence to indicate that these are used as tools against social assimilation. This problem and its analysis should provide the basis for defining the tribes as a separate social entity.

Lastly, I may point out that in attacking the problems of definition our aim should be to develop clarity of concepts rather than to achieve a cryptic formula. If we can develop precise concepts on the fundamental aspects of tribal culture we will have achieved our objective. A definition can follow from it but may not be fully expressive of all the essentials and because of that it may be possible in understanding of the concepts on which it is founded are lost sight of.

The caption of this paper is somewhat high sounding and grandiose but I propose to deal with certain common phenomena that a worker in tribal welfare is likely to come across. In an informal discussion a friend once expressed surprise that there were two tribes living in a village of tourists separated by only the narrow village common. For ages they lived there following a common occupation of till cultivation and collection of fruits, roots and tubers from the forests nearby. Both communities were equally poverty stricken leading an existence of deplorably subhuman level, steeped in ignorance, and age old superstitions. But although living in through across the street for generations, they followed their own different patterns of living which manifested in their food dress and a host of other customs and practices. They shunned the same food, had different staple needs in salt and oil and arranged their names in the latter's language in the same broken accent. But, at home each pursued his own distinctive pattern of customs which are more deep rooted but also in their food habits dress and day-to-day habits and manners. It would appear as though they were living in two separately walled cities without any channels of contact with each other while in fact they are in close

proximity and contact day in and day out. No doubt where religion acts as a basic sign of close intermixtures, for instance, neighbourhoods may not have much impact on matters like dress and food habits. In this case, however, living in close quarters of each other in name and in other ways. In the language of the anthropologist the Santals of Austric stock, while the other the Orans is of Dravidian stock. The traditions of each differs from the other. Their religions, and social practices and customs are from two different origins. Apparently, there was no need to be surprised to find the members of these two communities pursuing their own lines of living habits, customs and manners in spite of the fact that their children might be playing together and attending the same school, their contact with the common plainman traders and creditors. What, however, was surprising my friend is that close proximity had no contact.

of each other both seemed to be competing with each other in adopting the totally dissimilar culture. My friend went on to illustrate his point. When the Back Development Programme was introduced in the area a number of offices from the plains and with cultures dissimilar from that of the

tribal communities came to execute the Block programmes. The tribal cause is conflict with them and got an opportunity to be acquainted with their ways and the ways of the tribes. They had the opportunity of trying the area occasionally. On one such occasion he heard one of the Block officials complain before the District Officer, who happened to be on tour there, that he and other officers had a hard time for want of rice. They had sometimes to go without food. The Collector advised him to depend more on the local cereal "Ragi" which is grown abundantly in the area and was then in use. He said that he had heard of the use of cereals of Ragi, asking that costly food preparations like "Ovaltine", "Vimostak" etc. can be Ragi based. He got advised to try to send more rice supplies to the place he advised him to the Block Officer and the Collector. He however did not appear convinced and lodged a bold protest saying that Ragi can be used as a food item and not be acceptable in his home. The Collector replied that he had also asked in the same vein before. The tribal who had a hard time for want of rice got to know of the use of Ragi. Now had no doubt about it. The days of Ragi were getting numbered. It was that losing its pride of place in the area he got the Collector to his side and ashamed of his food habits as being of a tribal for the sake of cultured people. Even P.D.B. Wollen went there and asked him to do the same. There was a lot of resistance and a long Ragi protest. The people in those days were poor. His friend advised him to do the same. The blocks were taken by magic, as it were. In except the Hindi, Ragi became of no use in preference to "Ragi".

Similar surprise has been expressed where an otherwise well-educated and well-adopted adult has adopted the dress habits of a man and have not grieved to discard those colourful shirts and hand gowns for the flat and stereotyped short and short.

My friend also noticed another very interesting transaction. Tribals men, women, young and old were seen to be using tobacco (Gurakha) as tooth paste. They are no doubt fond of tobacco which they like to smoke. Some also prepare a kind of powder with lime and retch to put it in their mouths. When they can not do this, they use a kind of tobacco powder while keeping the tobacco powder under their tongues. The use of

to tobacco in the form of a paste for cleaning the teeth was restricted to the purovisas, and none but a clash to penetration. When such persons went to the tribe areas whether as block personnel or in pursuit of trade and commerce the tribes came in their contact and it took them not long at all to adapt themselves to the use of tobacco tooth paste from tobacco smoking. This was the general custom over night. Tribals of all ages were seen to be smoking at all hours. In the early morning the smoking hours when they would snatch a moment to stand by and use it in huts. It was a common sight to see them take the trouble of finding out why the tribesmen preferred the tobacco tooth paste in preference to tobacco smoking. The tribesmen would say that the paste was much better and that my friend was talking such a question merely in jest although he was a well educated young man. The young youth would however say that the tooth paste was not only new and easier to use but more dignified and so it had been favoured by the "babus". That is why it has been preferred by them.

What my friend in course of his work among the backward tribal people saw were outcome to culture contact between two cultures. One of the tribes out of the tribals whom he saw was a primitive one and the others were weak. The other was born by not only an economically stronger people but in this case the subjects had access to administrative power to their credit. In a certain set of circumstances, the stronger culture was able to sweep the other, the economically weaker culture, as it were, off its feet. What my friend was astonished to notice may well have been manifestations of such a process in the culture contact of two different peoples. While the planter probably found nothing worth consideration in the pattern of living of the poor tribals, the latter though by the habits and customs of the planteress they came in contact

were the digested pattern to follow and their own pattern was not worth anything in the tribal areas.

It is however here that we have to be careful in adoption of new customs and manners, dress or food habits acquired from others. The process of culture contact and acquisition involves a decrying of one's native habits and customs. It is tragic to see the decay of the culture in this case not only thought that their parents or their tribe were inferior folk, their food of Raj, poor and indigent, but the contagion was more deep rooted and wide spread. The tribals were found to have considered their tribes life pattern, their culture an inferior and indigent. They were abhorrent of a second or third rate culture and were contemptuous of third rate, mediocre people. For others who are not born there have to prove, so outlandish and boorish. They are a people deserving of every one's pity. This was indeed pathetic. If we analyse what had happened in that case we would come to notice that there was no attempt on the part of the block personnel in question

to make any endeavour from the planter to engineer the process of culture contact in a leading place in course of the new happenings. Perhaps it is natural and to conduct themselves as to cause the least dislocation and consequent dispair in the lives of the tribals. They could be made to remember how in the older days the aryan conquerors did when thrown together with the backward "Sahars". They adopted their Gods and deities into their own pantheon and gave them a place in the hierarchy. Lord Jagannath the Sahars deity, was treated with the highest esteem and that regard continues till to-day. Lord Rama, a Hindu deity, though the Hindu deities and the Gods made friends with the deities of the Saugars. The planteress are update with instances of such friendship. In other words, a conscious effort was made in the past to integrate, to synthesize

the Aryan and the Tribal cultures in which there was a two way process of give and take that enriched both the cultures, and what is more important both the people concerned themselves as architects of the emerging culture as a result of the fusion. Both continued to give their respective contributions as equal partners. Let us consider the picture that the present holds in the field. We are very familiar with the complaints that are often made of the indifference of the backward tribal people their lack of enthusiasm towards programmes of welfare and under the block & other agencies are being executed for their welfare. We often meet with the lament of the block personnel, social workers and others connected with the execution of these programmes of the difficulty they have to face in making any such programmes - the rba, successful. For want of understanding and active participation by the tribals. The execution answer most probably would be that the tribal should be made to understand and appreciate the nature and content of the programmes of development. No doubt this is a fundamental matter and its importance has to be understood by all social workers engaged in this kind of work. But an equal importance has to be given to the right of and that is the right of persons contact. The manner in which the social worker conducts

himself in his day-to-day even trivial contacts with the tribal is of as great importance in the understanding of the tribal culture the aspirations and aspirations of the tribal people their likes and so on. The social worker has to be careful and see his conduct in the sphere of his work. He has to be sincere and has to impress that he is believing sincerely in the programme of work he is engaged upon for execution. He should practice what is all he preaches and he may act for the tribals a failure in which he ought to have ideas about social org. meeting and practice them correctly and well.

It would also be well worth remembering in this context an old proverb used which runs as following -

" शरण एवं धर्म
सम्मिलित
स्वरूप स्वरूप
प्राप्ति एवं धर्म "

In the process of rightly conduct every one of us has to be careful to see that as far as practicable the absorption of the tribal culture traits of each other is avoided and the only relic that should be avoided should deal in the more devious aspects of it enriching both and leaving nothing to be desired in something better than what each had.



Introduction

The Gondas of Orissa according to the 1951 census numbered 16,642. They are widely dispersed over the districts of Sundergarh, Jharsuguda, Bolangir, Cuttack and the northern portion of Keonjhar.

The Gondas of Orissa number 16,642, living in 600 villages in the districts of Jharsuguda, Sundergarh, Bolangir and northern portion of Keonjhar. They have been integrated in the Hindu social structure and enjoy the status of a cultivator-warrior caste. In spite of this formal integration there is a strong group feeling among them and a sense of psychological maladjustment in perpetuating all their social dealings. The characteristic qualities these include in the list of the Scheduled Tribes.

There is a group of Gondas living in the northern portion of Keonjhar district and the northern portion of the Koraput district. These people maintain their distinctive tribal language and culture. They speak Gondi, which is a Dravidian language widely used in the tribal areas of India. At present they have nothing in common with the other group of Gondas excepting the name. An analysis of the kinship structure of the both the groups, however, shows evidence of historic connection.

The present paper is based on data from the first group.

Purpose of the paper

The purpose of the paper is to equip the field worker with the instructions to deal with the Gondas in the course of doing welfare work among them. The paper intends to specify categories of dues and dons for the field worker. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part concerns the general dealings of the field worker with the tribe. The second part discusses the mode of his dealing in connection with

Part I

General Dealings

It is important to take note. The field worker should remember he is not upper caste. He is a skilled and progressive tribe. He is doing a welfare work which has been done by the Gondas in the society for centuries and who are very good at the manual and trade education. They should not be given the impression that he is being given special treatment because of his backwardness. Rather this should be told that they had been in need of justice and now in recognition of the same he is being given the accorded special privileges.

The field worker should tell the people that any scheme is being imposed upon them. The Gondas do not like to be told that anybody and anyone is in a better position than them. The field worker should be so manipulative as to elicit suggestions from them.

1) The tradition of the Gonds should be borne in mind while moulding the leadership pattern among them. The Gonds are a tribal race. It is very important to locate proper leaders among a people who are allergic to all types of authority except that determined by their own culture. Among the Gonds the elderly people and the big land owners and the ex-Governors (so-called Zamindars) have great prestige. The Field Worker should rely on these people much if he wants any welfare projects would attain success and consequently prestige the attitude of the people high undergo a change and it might become possible to bring about a new crop of leaders.

2. The conduct of the field worker among the Gonds: (a) The field worker should not ask the people to do such menial work for him as carrying his luggage, cooking for him and washing his clothes and drawing water for him, etc. The Gonds first consider if they are asked to do domestic work for anybody even for payment of money. The Field worker should carry very little luggage with him and should manage his own work. It is certain that, if he can make himself popular friendly help would be forthcoming and he might get service in abundance which he could not have got for payment.

(b) There is a general impression that there are no social morality among the tribal people. This impression is both false and harmful. I ascertain that the sexual behaviour of certain tribes among Gonds, etc., etc., but they have their rules which are rigid for them especially when numbers are concerned. Among the Gonds there is a certain social behaviour in which they are strict in rules of marriage and attitude towards women. The rules are not so strict as they are more mainly observed due to their marital and social status. The field worker should be exceptionally cautious about his behaviour towards Gond women. He should

not, however, shun acquaintances with them. If he can mix with the elderly women and win their affection he can get it most 'till the more readily accepted by the people.

(c) There are certain tribes who are very much goaded by payment of money or the promise of such payment. This is not the case with the Gonds. That, on the other hand, looks down upon those who want to do things by payment of money. The Field worker can be successful if he can call him a band of sympathy for them and then an aptitude to understand their problems and troubles. The Field worker should try to know the troubles of the individuals and should try to solve them even if they do not come under his strict officials jurisdiction. He may carry a chest of panniers with him.

(d) He comes across common diseases. He should try to avoid administering medicine in serious cases and should arrange proper medical treatment for him.

3. Certain general postulates which the field worker should bear in mind regarding welfare work among the Gonds—(a) The field worker should try to keep himself in the background as far as possible and push into prominence those who have capacity for leadership.

For example when regarding issues of he should not become the President, nor the Chief Spokesman. He should have prior discussions with the people in private and should arrange the the proper names and the order in which things shall be told should

(b) The field worker should now try to introduce more than one scheme at a time in a village. His scheme should be simple and easy to understand. I would, however be convinced for him if he introduces he same scheme in a number of contiguous villages.

c) The field worker should always remember that no problem is important and no scheme is necessary unless the people think them to be so. He should not be guided by his own notion of importance and necessity. His own effort, therefore, should be to see that their maximum co-operation can be guaranteed.

All the Gonds are very reluctant to travel any distance outside their village to receive any assistance or technical advice. The field worker should therefore take efforts to see that such assistance reaches the Gond in his own village.

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to compete with the money-lenders at the first instance it should be carried on scope gradually. He should make efforts to secure the availability of credit in time.

(4) *Forest Co-operative Societies*—The Gonds, though reluctant to work as day labourers elsewhere, do not object to work for contractors in the forest as this type of work fascinates them and provides a substitute for their favourable pan-tiger-hunting. They are always exploited by these contractors.

The introduction of forest co-operative societies can be very effective among the Gonds and the field worker should attach due importance to them. The contractors in the villages are also quite unpopular and as such it would be easy to work on them.

The field worker should remember that the Gonds regard the forest as their own property and are very much agitated about the forest rules. Introduction of forest co-operative societies may give them the impression that they can do with the forest as they like. The field worker should guard against this from the beginning because once they take liberty with the forest, it would be difficult to check the process.

(5) *Poultry Rearing*—Most of the Gonds are very poor and the extent to which they mainly relied upon hunting is the best. The standard of living has been very drastically curtailed in prison and meat is very scarce. Poultry rearing, therefore, has a considerable scope among them.

The field worker should remember that it is not possible for the Gond to have a large number of flocks and expenses which the rearing of such flocks like the English and the Rhodes flocks require. Therefore, he should always insist on country birds.

(6) *Cottage Industries*—The Gonds live in an area which is rich in such jungle products as honey, lac, etc.

Cottage industries to organise their trade in a village like a hill-tribe products has a good scope among them.

The Gonds are in the habit of working in the contractors' farms at the initial stage but due to their low wages and the contractors' general resistance for work they drop half way. The field worker should, therefore, introduce a small number of these schemes and give his constant attention to them for a number of years.

(7) *Primary Education*—The duty of the field worker regarding these schemes is to induce the people to send their children for training in these institutes, while working among the Gonds the field worker has to rely on the prosperous landowners as they are the people who have capacity for leadership. Naturally he should not have people who are not interested in these institutes. But his section among the Gonds are always the most backward in the village. They have no means in the village and interest.

It is, therefore, necessary for the field worker to approach the poorer section in this respect. The landless people would be more willing to send their children for such training.

(8) *Banking*—The field worker should suggest a suitable bank to be opened in the area. This is a very difficult problem. But here the field worker can evince a certain difficulty. These banks are generally the property of the ex-Gaudias and the development of pisciculture can benefit only a very limited number of people.

The field worker should, therefore, try his best, though he should not always insist on it, to get these banks handle over to the revenue department or to some co-operative society.

(9) *Rearing of Bees*—This is a scheme where apiculture seems to be negligible and which can enrich the

otherwise deficient. Good diet
generally helps people do not take this
vitamin supplement.

The Gondi can be induced to adopt bee-keeping, if the head worker can successfully make such a living by his own efforts. He can make the people use the honey in order to sell it here.

Health care and supplies are to be supplied by the Government to protect the tribal people from the wild animals. The Gond being an untouchable people are not allowed to use the medicines and use the guns against their human enemies. The field worker should see that the guns are supplied only to those villages where there is no factionalism and to those people who have no crime, a fair credit and who are free from drug use.

(15) **Sonia Welfare Centres—Social Welfare Centres** are established for the benefit of women. To induce Good women to take the benefit of these she may also. The field worker should procure the services of female workers. He may also, if he can induce the elderly women of a Village to initiate the work.

It has been found that usually these centres adopt a set pattern of work regardless of the needs of the women of the area. The field worker should, therefore, be very careful in regard to the type of work to be done in the centre if the progress where the centre is to be helpful is to be made. It is important to make the centre the focus of such activities as would cater to those needs.

4) *Rural Welfare Centres*—It is often found that the benefits of a Rural Welfare Centre is taken only by the village where it is established. The dist. works should see that the other villages also derive benefit from it. He stressed the urgency for the welfare guides to go to other villages to import such technical knowledge as would be felt necessary.

(14) Education The Gonds, who are a very backward tribe, are sometimes reluctant to send their children to school. A reason for this is that they are used to where they are to eat and stay with others. The field workers should induce them by saying that if they do not send their children to schools others would march past by them and they would be left behind. If a sense of competition is announced they would not be reluctant.

Children are often sent to the Adyarian Schools because they are given free boarding and lodging. I have very few cases to report where the training received in the schools is wasted. When the children return after the completion of their education, come to be of use.

It is after the schooling is completed that the real work of the field workers begins. He should always keep contact with them and try to interest them in the various welfare activities described here. He should also try

to induce them to go for higher training and keep them informed and in touch about the scope of employment.

CONT. 50%

In conclusion it can be said that the guide is a man of much life, always his common sense and experience to which he should always refer to tackle any problem. The points mentioned here are not rigid, but the conduct and should not be taken up as rigid principles.

ELOGIES OR AN
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER IN
THE RANCHUHS

Balaguda Taluk is a compact area of about 600 sq. miles in the Beed-Phaud district. It touches Karapur district and Garega scheduled areas on the south, Kildhan on the west, Borigaon and Bawali on the north and Kandham and Ch. Uda on the east. The Teli, the Khadga, the Bokha, the Sagar are the major streams flowing through this area. The area is very rich in soil, although it is not of the best species. Soo, Peas, etc., valuable fibres can grow well. The flora and fauna are staggering and abundant. The majority of the population is Korki and the

were being indulged in by the population in the last century. The population was of a wild stock and a contingent of the Gyanpur hill police used to be quartered at Balaguda. Reservation of forests in the area was undertaken in the year of his census. There was

then remained mostly a habitat of wild animals with herds of wild elephants roaming about. The population is sparse and the people (Adibas) live in absolute indifference of who, or going on in the world around them. Schools are fairly numerous but the school-masters are negatives inmates in most cases. The Adibas feel no charm or use in

to, or field hands and by their going to school, he would have to that of supplementary field hands to assist him and domestic hands to assist the housewife in collecting the edible roots in winter the green eatable leaves in summer the jowar and maize in summer and the bamboo shoots during rains. Most important is fetching of water which invariably lies at not less than a furlong from the village. Paddy has to be

thrashed, mango kernel and unripe rice etc. etc. etc. Who is to attend to all these, if the girls and boys go out for education? The system of education is ridiculous. For children of nature the dark four walls of a school under a teacher who either does not know the language or knows it indifferently is most abominable. I feel repulsive. The teachers taught are far above the I.Q. of an Adibas child. The subject-matter is of no interest to the child. He would follow it with interest, if the speech and such topics has some relation with the conditions in the hills. Wild animals, birds, trees would be within easy reach of a child here. Stories from Ramayana, topics or words in vogue in the Plains area, are foreign. The songs taught do

Adibas child. The count of numbers, alphabets, sentences, etc., used by such

child, compelled or coerced, goes to school, sticks for a few years and leaves it to forget completely all that had been taught. The child relates straight into nature which had always been calling him in silent

teaching. He grows up or rather drops to the winds all the teachings. Who, in the good of His method of teaching, of the curriculum adopted, of the subject-matters taught, if "does not succeed in causing to interest of the taught"?

The model curriculum should be one according to the present plan of basic education. The Adibas should be taught numbers with trees with models, arithmetic should be taught with illustrations from the animal kingdom. Mixed stories should be taught with reference to the animal kingdom and the Adibas themselves living in the area. Rama, son of Dasaratha, Shrikrishna the great Mahatma, Sivaji Chander Vidyasagar the

Mahatma Gandhi and the other great men of the world will not reuse any interest in the Adharan stories of the railway of the steam engine and the like which we see in the text-books would be far beyond the I. Q. of the Adharan children and should not be based on them. Play and past-times should be organized basing on the Adharan do Jana mind so that the children could both be healthy & happy & intelligent & and by so doing if making the Adharan experts in the do Jana field &c. Then we think the Adharan underground would be a better substitute. Pottery which is in the hands of a few could be usefully taught. Arts & craft &c and such works would provide better employment. Mats, etc. etc. etc. etc. in spite of the cost of transport of raw materials would provide very lucrative employment.

If the development of Addison would subsequently contemplated, the method as well as the subject taught should undergo a drastic change. The Addison of 1870 should not be left to his fate. Improving upon the object should never be to give him the education which will qualify him in the degree class already. It should not also be to give him immediately an idea of the modern world. He is in the infancy of what we call city life and we should give him a chance to get up into childhood before we can hope that he will be able to understand, digest and assimilate what such a -

Adams is right in his suggestion
that a real law is a law which
one who does not know the working
of the law may not be able to find.
The plan of the proposed law with
reference to the right of the child to
rest and civilization are hard to be
settled into an inflexible Act by a mind
The Adovocacy should first know what he
desires, he, to be, and determined
what he can do. This is a request
of all the hours of discussion to
ponder over the problem.

Now coming to the shortcomings that are in the persons who are

usually in charge of education in the
schools and a few who try to make very
small and a few who try to
make a few
Apologies are due to the very few
honest sincere and dutiful teachers
and educational officers who in spite
of the heavy odds against them, are
carrying on all the work of spreading
education through the system in force.
Their number is very small and if there
are not more it is only because of the
loss of the labour.

then. Once he is at home, difficult for him to return quickly. He is posted with the tour programme of the school and abides by it. He tries to make up his mind to go to the shop to buy his books. He feels obliged to the services of the children in carrying his things when he returns from the nearest shopping centre. The children collect his fur and white leather bag. There is one who had previously in the same manner a dog - a dog which he used to bring over. After a service of 10 to 12 years, the teacher leaves

be take some materials to construct a
the area. He is called to the V. L. A.
Panchayat, also part in village pol.
Hut, till on reaching the peak of
importance, he attracts the notice of
the Inspecting Officer and is appoin-
ted.

The second type is again divided into two classes - the Adiyan teachers including the Puro and his teacher from among the Oriya section. Both these classes in general terms are not men of any great malignancy. They are men with low degree of regeneration and understanding. In many cases they repeat the actions without fully understanding the principles. Even though they could make the lessons interesting to the Adiyan child, they never try to do it. In olden days, this class of teachers was making sincere attempts to discharge a dutiful. Their absence from the schools was less frequent, of shorter duration and because of their associations, they found it more convenient to stay at the schools. Of late with the penetration of political parties, etc. this class is now more important in the eyes of the foreigners and the teachers are gradually losing interest in the schools. There is a class of teachers who are not in the good graces of the persons referred to above. There is also less disciplinary control over them because of their influences to persons and the class are showing signs of dereliction.

There is a sharp difference between the Orlys teacher and the Adrons and
it more is not gone noticed. He is
own importance as an Adrons teacher
the
ever, manifested in any inappropriately
All hands. It is true to say a variation
and considerable for us.

is generally a non-resident and closer
settler or the Advisor agent. It
however is an analogous and an

realizing that he is rarely caught in his absence. He reaches what is in the cylinder and nothing more. He realizes that he is working for his bread and bread alone and is purely

them. They are very am. suffer from a
superiority complex, as they know full
well that they are more intelligent than
the Adivas. They look down the
Adivas and Oriya chhadias with con-
tempt but on account of their superior
intelligence manage to remain un-
touched. They work
trade not successfully. They work
themselves up to the confidence of
the Adivas and whenever there is any
negotiation, they are bound to have a
direct or indirect hand in it.

It is this class which can be educated successfully in giving the Ad-Van the proper education. The Pano teacher understands the psychology of the Ad-Van and his language. He can follow the change of introduced and he alone can make himself perfectly understood. It is persons of this class who can help in drawing up a syllabus and curriculum for the Ad-Van child. It has, however, to be kept in mind that he needs close and strict supervision. He is by nature a worker and if the best out of him is required he should be kept under control. Being intelligent he craves at strict control and so the control has to be full and plastic. Another point about him is that his guidance is a personality complex and his contempt for the Ad-Van sometimes makes him violent and cruel.

I would only be proper to close this note with a few words about the Inspecting Officer. They are all officers capable and competent. They come to the task to do their duty thoroughly. They always start in high earnest but as time passes on, the monotony of the place, the long and lonely distances, too frequent attacks of malaria damp their spirits. The movements of insulators begin with

only one Penn, the lack of other
members, the thoroughly inadequate
Agency allowances and factors which
would deprive you of 1/3 of the
of these drawbacks he is quite
Officers have been in very a bravely
It is time has been wasted on the other
Conventions at home

Marriage among the Kari Kondhs

The Kurn Kandhs have customs which are different from those observed by their brothers for their wives. The Kurn Kandhs have three forms of marriage, the first when嫁入 (yārù) is a negotiator, the second where the parents bring about the marriage, and the third is the primitive type of an offering of the Kurn Kandhs, *Yārù Yārù*.
The marriage may end when there is some change in the place of the son or uncle of the groom going to the village where the bride comes from. There is an old belief that the bride should be brought by the bridegroom's people to the house by the bridegroom's people. The bride's people bring the bride to the bridegroom's house and the bridegroom's people bring the bride into the roof of the house just about the entrance. They depart hurriedly. If the bride's people do not favour the marriage or if the bridegroom's people do not like the bride they would very soon return. It is for this reason that they leave in a hasty manner of course, for the effect. The group comes in silence and demands a sacrifice.

This custom appears to be a survival of the primitive way of winning a bride by sheer power and fight. The arrow is graciously the weapon which the man uses as his profession in his two duties as Food, saves him from wild animals and secures him a wife, a son and the tribe. The arrow or rather the arrow of the family which he gives now belongs to his Queen and his individual.

On the third day the party again goes to the village to see what has been done to the arrow. The party goes silently and sits on the verandah of the house for a while and goes outside.

The superiority of the male is thus manifested. He makes captures but does not pursue them. He does not make himself appear anxious about his prey.

The bride's people see their coming, sit there while aiming but there is no exchange of greetings or words between them. If, however the bride's people do not approve of the match, they throw away the arrow towards the groom's party who is a hunting saying "Whoa! no? give our girl". Some-

home? This is not shown as a final reflex, because the march majors argue—"Where will the gels go if the parades give them to us?" If the parents of the gels throw the arrow, the march is likely to roll up.

If the arrow is not pulled on, the party returns again on the third day. The members sit on the verandah. There is a talk and the party returns after a while. If the arrow is not pulled out, even then, it is taken for granted that the preposed match is off.

The next place is the mouth of Magh,
the brook. They are on the roadside
people have been seen to lie down on

is decided as in no more Khanda. The usual Khanda or not is called three heads, big bell-metal plates two bell-metal discs as (Kansa), one tri-metal and one hafer. This is the Khanda in the case of affluent persons. If the person's family is poor, the Khanda is reduced in value and it is composed of only three heads bell-metal, small size, tri-metal Kansa four bell-metal one and hafer one. In such case, the three heads of cattle are for the marriage feast. The former is known as Dera Khanda and the latter as Alia Khanda.

When the parties come to an agreement about the *Kuenda*, the

party return home the same evening.

In the month of Magh following
or a few days before Purushottama, the
Kshetra comes to the bride's house.
If the Kshetra cannot be delivered
by these days, time is taken till
Pushtika or Ashadha Shukla.

After the Khanda a devurd, the bades' people go within a mile of the city or a village. As is usual with the Adivas, they carry with them rice and vegetables. They are welcomed warmly and stay at the grooms' house.

work. The party consists of men in the women but the house is not in the party. They have after a few days, the garden is the house, trees and vegetables and stay here as long as they are present. The garden is then returned to the

Food. There is a fear of the body
are invited. The fruit of the tree
to drink. The influence of the country

Inter-User Analysis

The marriage from a big affair.

There is no Ch. ~~prohibited~~ music plays. There is no Ch. ~~prohibited~~ music plays. There is no Ch. ~~prohibited~~ music plays. The girl is delivered to the house. The girl is delivered to the house. The girl is delivered to the house. The girl is delivered to the house.

two young girls leave the ~~coast~~ day

The bride does not speak to anyone

year be broken or in the 6th or after
as it is a sufficient number of
years past when broken a house
will not stand up again in that
place. I am writing
you to let you know that
I have been to New Haven
more frequently continuing the applica-
tion of the old remedy
and I am gradually
getting better and with
the help of God I will
have a house.

have been making love to a young man over in the room. The parents are shocked and say the son is a bad boy. The seducer is then forced at a game party to sing a song. The song is a seduction song. The seducer sings the Rudester song. The parents are shocked.

There is nothing of an official at this
and he was not of the subordination
to go with all the foreign and native

of a simple but powerful law in the behavior of gases, he was able to deduce the law of Boyle and Mariotte, and to show that it was not only a law of gases, but of all matter.

There are 20 instances of 4 or 5
to 10 individuals, and 10 instances
of more individuals which, as in Buder
The last 5.

1911 10 22
at Sheldene - ♀ ^{parturient} 14.75
deep spots in the bed of stream
Ding village ^{14.75} ^{14.75}
in Burung village ^{14.75}
at Ulu-Bolang ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75}
D-11 14.75 (Bunganga Mitha). Yet
another ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75}
of these, plus ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75}
and Bunganga ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75}
Hulu ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75} ^{14.75}
the light.

The Panhandle game has got to
come down. Are to be in the
frontier. The new a in high repre-
sent. The Puget has been here
dive and water. There is in the water
and the Puget comes when such as

It is a well-known fact that the
more the number of the sub-
divisions of the species, the
more the species are numerous. In
the case of *Urtica dioica* and
Urtica urens we find that the
former is divided into three, the
latter into four, and the last
into six sub-species. The
result is simple and is
easily explained by modern mechanics.

The next trial by ordeal, which was in vogue till about thirty years back was the Gopee Sardar as it is called the place of the ordeal was at Pusanga Hill.

Pusanga who worships the Palkheda of the Khonds was residing at this certainty. People from all over the Jhada Taluk used to come for the trial by ordeal to obtain justice over disputes. About 30 years back there was a Deda, Talukdhar by name Shri Appasa who got this mode of trial.

There is even now a very big tree at Pusanga which is believed to be the Sardar.

The combatting parties would come to the Puro and offer before him that they would go through the Sardar or Pogram. The combatant or challenger puts one oat and about half a sack of rice.

Pura. The Khond who is the sub-ordinate worth type of Lohia Pura fetches

the place & prepares and puts a light

fire and adds it to the water. The water boils, both parties are standing close to the pot. They throw a few grains of raw rice into the boiling water calling upon Dharm Pura to witness the cotton and to adjudicate. The innocent man's rice goes down into the boiling water while the rice thrown by the wrong doer causes the boiling water to rise up. After this the man who does and throws the challenge would dip his hand up to his elbow in the boiling water. The hand is, however, immediately pulled up. The one longer this dips his hand in a similar manner. After this all the people there have the rice. The hands of the combatants

in presence of the Panchayat. The innocent man's hand is normal while the other man has blisters on his hand. This decides the suit and both parties accept the true judgment.

The blisters would disappear in ten days and the hand would be all right within a week.

Rakababur - a place near G. Udayagiri about 100 yards from the G. Udayagiri Farm. In the bed of a Nala there are huge sheet rocks, there are some small shrubs nearby and there is a deep cave in the bed of the Nala about one and a half feet high. The height of low intelligence quotient go for a walk in the Nala. In the bed of the Nala has underneath the stones are two huge lizards each 8 feet long with a dazzling precious stone on their heads. They are reported to be having large fangs and protruding tongues and that whoever sees the creatures does not live for more than a week thereafter.

It is the supposed presence of these Shanka Pura or Serpent Gods that the entire ordeal is undertaken in the manner described above.

THE KONDH

The Kondh calls himself Kondh - "I am a Kondh" When he speaks he always uses the prefix "Kondh" and nothing is done to any inferior competitor. When asked in Oriya he calls himself "Kondha Lohia" a name which is given to him by the people of the neighbourhood.

origin. It seems to have been brought into existence a long time. It is also not attached to any locality. Baudh

Bolangi, Rairakha, Jharkhanda, Nayagarh, Cuttack and Keonjhar have varying kind of population and every where the Kondh is known as a Kondh. There are two sub-tribes among them whose dialects are different. Even with this difference between them the two are known to the outside world as Kondha. Thus the name given to the race by the Oriya neighbours has a longer origin than we imagine. The word Kondh or Kondha is descriptive of the race because no other generic can be attributed to it. It may mean that they were given this name because they live upon Kondh. This cannot be corroborated because when a man comes out

of his damage he does not care to have Kanda but can be induced to eat better food which is available outside Kanda. Melon is not grown widely in the area also. In the

So, by the end of the 19th century, the first major scientific studies of the effects of the environment on health were being conducted in Europe and North America. These studies were largely descriptive, observational, and cross-sectional. They focused on the relationship between specific environmental factors and health outcomes, such as air pollution and respiratory diseases, or occupational exposures and cancer. The results of these studies provided a foundation for the development of public health policies and interventions to improve health.

If we stretch our imagination a bit
we can see that the original
Oriya language was a slightly
different language. The language
of mountain caves and cliffs was used by
the tribes of the hills.
Community used 'Kondh' as, therefore,
a word which was to represent the
tribes.
The tribes
of hills
are known
as Kondh.
At some
time to Kondh Loko. Now in Odisha
it is known as
the hills are known
as Kondh Loko. In course of time also the
second word was considered as unnecessary and dropped out.

In Telugu there are two ways of
denoting the *ka* and *ka* in
Kodulu and the *ka* or *ka* in
Kodulu is the plural and singular
is *koda*. *Koda* is the plural
form for the Oryza Kond or Kondih.
This does not appear to have been
adopted in the *ka* or *ka* in
the Telugu names. A few
of these are given in the
Kond *ka* and *ka* plural forms
and were *ka* or *ka* in the

The sign of the Kung Fu Master is
written in a style he calls the
style of Kung Fu. It is a style of the
Kung Fu Master and of the
processional Kung Fu Master. This
abbreviated wood has come to be
known as Kung Fu. These two ways of

explaining the root of the word. *Kond* seems to be the only possible explanation. Now let me come to the reason why the *Kondhs* call themselves *Kondhs*.

Kui in the Kondh language means upper high. The Kondhs have been having their habitat only in the hills, which are the eastern Ghats lie at a height of not less than 1,000 feet above sea level. From their mountain fastness the race used to seek down into the plains below and it was not difficult for them to realize that they were people of the hills. Thus they called themselves the people high up or in the highlands. Deep in their hills, however, they never live in deep woods. They select mountain tops or small open spaces at the foot of the mountains.

Will he speak in Oriya, he is
to be a traitor to his country, for
Oriya, of their treachery and sub-
sequent conduct. The pro-
tection of the government has
been given to him, and he is
to be described 'himself' as Oriya all
the time, his expressions are re-
called and his name is suggested of all
infamous criminals.

S. R. DEHRA

**NATURE OF AUTHORITY
STRUCTURE AND JUDICIAL
MECHANISMS OF THE
CHETTILAIKURAVAN AND
PALLAN OF VILLAPURAM**

*Here are two cases of similar nature: the one occurred among the Chettiar-Kuravans of Ayurgru village and the other among the Chettiar-Kuravans of Vellaiyur village. Both the villages are within the Villupuram taluk of South Arcot district.

Case No. 1, Chettiar-Kuravans caste, April 1951.

Siddamuthu, the elder daughter of Sivamuthu, conceived as a result of her illegal intimacy with Chandru

*The first part of this paper was published in *Silpa*, Madras, No. 1.

a Vellala youth of the same village (The Vellalas are higher than the Chettiar-Kuravans in the regional caste ranking). The incident created an obtrusive turmoil among the Chettiar-Kuravans. The girl, who was a married bride, was away from home. She was working as an industrial worker at Madras.

One day during the month of April 1951, Laxmamma, the mother of the girl, came to know of her daughter'samous disgrace due to the latter's result of sexual vice. However she corroborated the affair from

neighbours and out of shape the
negotiator pointed to the daughter
sister. He is however said
that to the neighbours to come
she is the ~~daughter~~ ^{son} of the ~~son~~ ^{daughter} and
and consequently they started
negotiations. But though against her now Lathees
found her to be a good girl and
she immediately rushed to Aban,
their ~~husband~~ ^{son} (Aban was her
husband).
He is the son of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~son~~ ^{son}
Bengal ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~son~~ ^{son}
Now the ~~son~~ ^{son} ~~son~~ ^{son}
of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~son~~ ^{son}
is ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~son~~ ^{son}
scared of his daughter's man.
he ~~son~~ ^{son} ~~son~~ ^{son}
had up courage to meet the situation,
since desperation was no solution for
the ~~son~~ ^{son} ~~son~~ ^{son}
their ~~son~~ ^{son} ~~son~~ ^{son} ~~son~~ ^{son}
Bengal ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~son~~ ^{son}
from Ayigram on the northern side
and discussed with him about the
matter. From there all of them went
to Ayigram to inform their ~~son~~ ^{son}
headman of the incident.

On the request of Swarnam and Ahan, Palan Rajan, the caste-headman, came to the former's village secretly to meet Chelvan and to discuss the merit of the issue.

Meanwhile, Chandran had fled from his home in order to evade the fresh effects of the news. Natarajan, Abar and Swamiya met Kasavan, Chandran's father and told him of his son's missionary activity. But he did not concede to the suggestions . . .

... and ... the ... a ... a ...
and Abar. However, the matter was postponed by Chandran's arrival in the village.

By now the incident got much publicised and some of the former citizens became agitated over its settlement. As a result, Natwariya could not remain silent over this.

was. He convened a meeting of the caste council at Ayvaluk to specially invited Aban to the council meeting. In the meeting some of the members outrageously opined and asserted that Swaminanda should expel his distilled daughter forthwith from his family and all his lineage members would remain prohibited on. Sankararama's death-rite as performed Swaminanda presented before the members of the council suddenly for

council to consider the matter more fully and from a subjective point

only refused to explore any means

that of Asian castroling said to the members. In case, after they expelled the defaulter girl from the caste fold or not, the blasphemy would not be obliterated from the caste in either case, so it would be humane on the part of the council to help her in any way, although she had disgraced herself as well as all the caste-brothers being driven by the most disruptive of all human passions. Karamkunta, the

ed at this saying that the citizens would get rid of the ignominy by simply expelling Siddharama from the caste field. However Nanango the headman and some other members of the council supported Aban. Eventually the council deferred the decision of Siddharama's case for a period of fifteen days. It was now named the headman, the deputy headman and Aban to take up the case with Chandra rousette with the view to prosecute the latter as marry Siddharama. And further it declared that Siddharama's family would remain purated until a final decision is taken in the matter.

The Headman, the Deputy Headman and Aban, as decided by the court council, met Kasturi, Chandru's father, the next afternoon, but their meeting did not produce any result. However Chandru came back to the home

Take up, now, the Leviathan,
which is a great whale, so called
because of his hundred and five set of
teeth he is armed, and so forth. The

same day the council was convened for a short while at Ayyankul to hand over the amount to Swami and to dispose of Subbaram's case finally. Without much deliberation the council unanimously decided to pay rupees one thousand to Swami and to the rest amount of rupees fifty two hundred and twenty five to Subbaram in order to retrieve the caste prestige that had been eclipsed. The matter was then referred to the president of the council saying that it was unfortunate that such dismal and tragic affairs should occur within the caste. The president then said that he was very much distressed in privation. The council dispensed thereafter granting three days time to Swami to accommodate all that he wanted.

The time granted to Swamava
quietly passed away, but he could not
fulfill the decisions of the caste council.
In order to mitigate his distress and
plight Swamava abandoned the
village on the third night leaving all
his immovable property at Aban's
care. Next day Aban conveyed to
the government officer and the *Paryavara*
the documents and the
takas from the village. The same day
Paryavara convened another meet-
ing of the *Paryavaranam* to discuss
Swamava's departure. It took a sub-
stantial subscription to the delect of Swamava and consequently
warned all men of the caste-group to
keep a sort of relationship with

Swannva played with i
+ Minna -> married
off his daughter to a teacher

In the year 1957, Swami came to his village to take possession of

his ancestral home and two perform the marriage of his second daughter. By this time his case had already been relegated to the obscurus by his *Kul Sato* *tharangal*, but when he returned back to the village so as to live among his *Kul Sato* *tharangal*, the last issue revived once again.

Some other members of the caste group became agitated and a meeting was convened to inflict proper vengeance on Swastava.

At the first instance, the *governor* asked Swastava not to enter into their house, and further he added that in case the water flows to their house, he would not help you. It posed another problem for Swastava to reoccupy his home. From this, he realised the magnitude of the forthcoming trouble, hence he quickly agreed to abide by the strictures of the *Panchayatikarana* which were standing against him. And in fact, he performed the obsequies of his daughter Sudarshana and his wife, along with his family members, through the auspices of the *Paribrahman* in the caste fold and finally paid a fine of rupees fifty to the *Panchayatikarana* for his refractory attitude, thus defying its decisions so long.

Case history No. 2 November 1986 Pallan caste

Parvanna, a Pallan girl of Karmangalai village developed illegitimacy with Chethan, a Parayan youth. (The Parayans are considered inferior than the Pallans in the regional caste ranking, the former are drummers and the latter are agricultural labourers).

Scandal spread out among the Pallan wretched of the village regarding Parvanna's intimate association with Chethan. On enquiry her *governor* depicted that the vituperative

rumour against her was a fact. One day she slipped away from her home and tried to slope with Chethan, when she came to know that some persons had sent *Chethan* for her she, she could not succeed in her secret attempt due to Chethan's recalcitrance. She was caught and brought back home by some of her caste members. She was forced to marry Chethan.

Chethan, her father consulted *Karuppan* and *K. P. Arivuvelai* and *governor* respectively in the *Panchayatikarana* meeting convened to discuss Parvanna's case. *K. P. Arivuvelai* who was a *parayani* for her parents and a *Parayan* of the caste group. Both of them on their behalf referred her mother to *Paribrahman*, the caste headman. *Paribrahman* came to Chethan's house and talked to Parvanna. He found her as virtuous as her stand as before. And after that, he held that when the girl was so much fascinated with Chethan, she would not be halo with a caste fold under coercion. Any way he suggested the moving of the caste council to adjudicate the matter. The caste decided that the girl would never be allowed to go with a low caste boy. Further, it nominated the *Paribrahman* and two other members

to the *case committee* of Chethan (Parayans caste council) at Kuthampakkam and see the matter to the end by starting

Kazayya, the Parayan who contacted accordingly. He brought Chethan and his father to *Paribrahman*'s house for settlement of the issue. At *Paribrahman*'s house Goran, Raju and other leaders of the Pallan caste group had collected to meet and discuss the issue with Kazayya secretly. There

on being given a dālā and a
ad or all the
a man could do at that time
initiative, and however he was willing
to marry her. Chankar got arranged at
Charkhā.

On the arrival of the latter all of a sudden it
was known between both the
parties that Chankar was married to
Panamia along with
Christian and his Other 'Brahm' sons
and he was
now

aggravated to a point
not to give vent to trifling bickerings
at a time when the relationship of
both the caste groups, were and might
be.

problem issue concerning both the
caste groups was no, solved peacefully,
the consequence would ensue
from it a form of vengeance. He
asked upon Karmayān in order to
so deteriorate their relationship that
the latter could finally prevent Christian
from

secondly could not give any publicity
to the marriage.

Patil caste did not remain satisfied
with these two conditions of Match
man, the further wanted Christian
sooner or the name of god in the return of
Panamia to river all connect to
with the ador for ever. Karmayān
compared with the conditions of the
Patil and Christian did
Panamia.

The master did not and here, because
he P. L. was not able to
him from Christian for he was
polluted, that is to say
him.

paid by Christian to the Patil
a sum of rupees
for the payment of the fee and Karmayān
stood surety for it.

The second firm was realized with a
the stipulated sum, a sum of rupees
forty was paid to Chankar to spend
for the marriage of Panamia
and the rest amount of rupees
was credited to the caste fund. The

spouse ritu, viz., *ast-papang-karam*
or post birth (this ritu is performed
in favour of a declining woman of the
caste and a relative, who is implicated
with the charge of a gross breach
of the caste code and thus polluted,
with a view to purifying her from the
sin and, moreover, deterring her
from further recourse to the same)
of Panamia commenced three days
later. It was conducted at the back
yard of Chankar at midnight so as
to conceal the matter from caste
council.

Panamia went through the ordeal
of the ritu by reciting at the name of
god as well as her family ancestors
that, she would not again desire and
longed to herself. She were subse-
quently, taking a dip in the nearby tank
after each 'vrat' and at a different
spot each time. After each bath she
stripped over the burnt carcass of the
slaughtered goat. At the end of the
ritu members of the caste council
were entertained to a simple feast
by Chankar.

After about a month Panamia was
ready to be married. The marriage
was agreed upon by
both the parties at the initiative of their
parents. The girl
was not given any
wedding or dowry from the girl's
father, instead of paying the latter
a sum of rupees, he gave

Panamia mothered a female child
after about six months of her marriage
with Chankar, but they were
divorced from each other after enjoying a
cottage life for about two years.
Thereafter Panamia again married
Nikunjdas of her caste, and the latter
accepted as step-child, the baby born
to the former in her previous wedlock.

Dissimilarity— Both the foregoing cases
are of the same nature as they refer
to inter-caste pre-marital seduction.
But there is a perceptible difference
in them, inasmuch as in the one case

the girl's class ranks lower in power in the social order than that of her parents and the second case is just the converse.

In the former case, Chaudhuri's flirtation with Sudhamayama was partly on a love-of-his-own-passion basis; the former, however, had no intention of marrying Sudhamayama, and the latter was engaged in a love-affair with a boy.

together against their repudiated home government. — Nathan — and he was approached. And his father was, as we will see, without any delivery expected purely on "harmless" grounds. — and yet we find he is, after all, prepared to sacrifice, if he can, all the moral and legal rights and prestige considerably.

The answer is, the whole east coast coucil took no negotiations with Chandren. It was up to the eastern party or any one else to act, as well as of proprietary. Had not Aban so urgently of Sodhama pressed upon the council to do something to help her surely it would not have taken up the matter with Chandren. But one thing is sig-
nificant to note here that the council
had no power of its own to act, as
its representatives failed in their bel-
ief to get the east to act. It was
upon her verdicting theron the pur-
pose of assistance.

and a ch. f. in his & related
attachment to his effects, all his time
he stayed in regular by night & day
and at the end of it, the
old man died, and he was with
him to the last, and he died
in his arms, and he carried him to the
grave, and he buried him, and
he stayed with him all the time, and
had he been otherwise, obviously
he would have remained away from
the cause ground.

In the second case, the gift was declined, and only the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the inheritance was given to the wife. But the wife, though she had the right to the inheritance, could not force her husband to give it to her. This is called a *negative marriage* and has been known in England for a while, but it has only recently become a general right and has been affected

Big John, a son of the boy who
was at the fort, got a case of dysentery
in the winter, and he girl
of the house, who had been
upset by the boy, had a chance
then to do what
she wanted. She would
try to make him eat, and if he would
not eat, she would
not eat, and she did not
eat until he did. As
she shifted, she said, "I
have been instrumental for the kidnaping
however they were numerically
overpowered. The boy is still
alive, but he is very ill, and his wounds
are still open after so much time
spent in the woods."

I thought he was the
one who had to be (but was
convinced) out of the partnership
but he is not in a place as
of much faith and very little
tolerance. You are giving her because
her son is so much while with
her and is removed from the
possess of any of her relatives.

dogma and tradition, not consistency not as a guarantee against the propagation of further inroads of such castes within the caste group and for instance, if they go on excommunicating such fallen members of the group consistently, it may so happen that size of the group may be reduced. But the recurrence of such cases are very rare.

The Paliars within the hierarchy, were more accommodative and tolerant. They did not allow Paravas to get into the Kudan castefold, although the latter were lower in caste. It is true that the Paliars had a discriminatory rate and in order to make it absolute, they imposed a curse on the Paravas. They inflicted upon her the odious deterrent rate. Of course, secretly they earned all the acts of the Paravas, or the Paravas from the knowledge of other caste. Perhaps, it makes a small hole inside

named their caste prestige than it can others.

Conversely, when it may be pointed out that in Chettiarcaste in general, the Paliars are to certain and some extent or other a policy of squeezing out the non-conforming members, can be easily trap and has been doing repeatedly over decades. This is an aspect the caste norm. It is true, he does not let his boy are within the fold of Hinduism and are in the proximity of Brahmins and are to be a related to brahmins and castes. And the Paliars since being beyond the fold of Hinduism it seems that they have not inhibited the Brahmins to do this. The extent of this is a difference, but largely contributed for the differential behaviour of the two caste groups under similar laws. The attitude of the Paliars is exhibited whereas the attitude of the Chettiarcaste is more prone to and conditioned by religion.

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In this paper an attempt has been made to present the proceedings of a 'Jati Sava' (Caste-meeting) of the Kisan tribe which was observed by the writer during his field work in the Sundargarh district of North Orissa in the year 1962. The chief purpose of presenting the proceeding is to show how the new Kisan leaders are trying to bring reforms and social movement in their society through the mechanism of caste meetings. (In my analysis the present caste meeting is compared with the traditional *samska*, Kisan gathering described later on. Finally I have suggested how such caste meeting can be utilized in welfare work and in bringing social change in tradition-oriented tribal culture.)

The Kisans have spread over an extensive area through the wave pattern of migration either in search of land or for labor. They are good earth workers, and are generally very indutrious, with a passion for agriculture. They live in multi-caste and multi-tribal villages and have remarkably adapted themselves to the local culture of the regions where they have settled. The social status of the Kisans is very

low. They are considered as low untouchables and no caste Hindu accepts water from them. On the contrary they strictly refrain from accepting cooked food from the hands of others and at the past they never touched food from the hands of even Brahmins who enjoyed the highest position in the system of feudal chiefs and chieftains. Thus in spite of their residence in caste Hindu villages and close contact with outsiders they remained somewhat segregated and could retain some particular features of their traditional culture namely a distinct language, their interesting dance and music, peculiar rituals and stages.

In multi-caste Hindu villages the Kisans had almost accepted their low status and neither challenged nor revolted against their degrading position. But during the last thirty years, with the spread of education, modernization and other social movements to abolish untouchability a new consciousness arose amongst the Kisan leaders of Sundargarh and as a consequence of this they have organized the caste assembly called the 'Kisan Jati Mahasava' after the pattern of the caste

assemblies of neighbouring castes such as the Agarwals, the Telis and the Kurbars, etc. Though the 'Kisan Jan Mahasabha' is organised after the traditional caste assembly of Hindu society it is a new institution so far the Kisanas are concerned. The Kisanas derived much of their inspiration during anti-British and national movement. But the attainment of national independence and the merger of India, coupled with the former British Indian State of Orissa and the magnanimous and raised their level of aspiration. They organised and promoted the caste assembly with redoubled energy and tried to push forward their demands by abolishing superstitions, beliefs and eradication of caste-caste practices which they consider degrading. The proceedings of the meeting goes on rough, illustrate how the new leaders of the Hindus are progressing ahead and improve the social, educational and economic condition of their fellow men.

The Jurisdiction of the caste meeting

The present 'Kisan Jan Mahasabha' has not covered all the Kisan areas so far, though the organisers have their lofty aspiration in view. The present Sava, first started in the feudal state of Gangpur specially in the district of Cuttack of Odisha some forty years ago under the leadership of Jagat Kisan of Kurebaga. This meeting roughly covers the whole of Gangpur state though Kisanas of Puri and Rourkela area rarely join it. Besides some portions of upper Bhamunda and Jajpur districts (Zamindari) of Sambalpur district are also covered by the present

Jain Sava. In Bhamunda and Boudh they have respective separate organisations while in other parts of Sambalpur proper (Khurda) no such caste organisation has evolved so far.

Mode of Meeting

The Kisan Jan Mahasabha does not hold its meetings regularly. Sometimes the meetings have been held in intervals of three to four years, or at times these have been held annually. Before summoning a meeting the organisers consult the leading persons of the community and send messages to each village. They have no formal office-bearers, either paid or honorary. So the most important persons take the responsibility of summoning the meeting. The meeting described in this paper was held in the village Barula in 1961.

In the Barula meeting there was some speciality. Previously the notice which was circulated was drafted in Odia and was hand written. Some-times messengers were engaged to visit the different Kisan villages. This year's notice was in Kisan language but the script was Odia. The notice was cyclotyped in large numbers and no such notice was sent to each Kisan village lying within the panchayatis of Raghunathpur and Badgara in Sundergarh district. Most of the notices were distributed in the local weekly market but the organisers also personally visited some of the villages to circulate the notice. The notice was addressed to all Kisan members over the signature of important Kisan. It was stipulated in the notice that unless three and three pence of fee would be collected for each

drummers and the amount thus collected from each village should be deposited with Janta Maha of Birulia. The meeting was fixed to be held on the 20th May 1961 at 9 a.m.

Description of the Meeting

The meeting was held in a mango grove about at the outskirts of the village. Some verandahs had been hung in a canopy to protect the audience from the sun. The ground was covered with mats and hay. A table, two chairs and two benches were placed for the President and distinguished persons. Some flower garlands were kept for important persons and delegates. A big water vessel with glasses was kept at a corner for drinking. At a little distance under a mango tree youths of the village were engaged in cooking for the participants.

The meeting could not be started exactly at 9 o'clock in the morning on account of poor attendance. By that time only a hundred persons had joined the meeting while other delegates were gradually pouring into the meeting. Before the start of the meeting, the delegates were asked to finish their bath and take their meals cooked by the village youths. The expense was met by donations raised from participating villages which sent their delegates.

By the time the meeting commenced, nearly one hundred people representing roughly one hundred villages, had gathered in the meeting ground. A few women of the village were seated on the front row of the meeting. Important delegates including women were garlanded before the commencement of the meeting. The President, two Joint

Secretaries and a Treasurer were elected and the new President occupied the chair.

The meeting started in a gaiety atmosphere with the recital of vedic hymns by the delegate of Gudhal, a Pracharak (Preacher) of the Arya Samaj, staying under the Veda Vyasa Centre in Sundargarh.

In this plenary session nearly fifteen persons delivered their speeches in their own mother-tongue the Kisan language. All the speakers attacked the evil practices of the tribe and suggested how they can advance by educating their children. Before giving the summary of their speeches a few explanatory notes may be given on the following terms.

Nada Jatra

It is a sort of inter-village dance meeting which is held in the spring and winter seasons. It is a festival of youths. During the cycle of such Nada Jatra batches of uncircumcised and married young men and women go round from village to village and dance throughout the night in a particular village. As the festival is celebrated each night in a village the entire cycle of the Jatra takes weeks for completion. It is reported that much of sexual laxity takes place during such dancing fampionship. Therefore the Khan leaders are very keen in abolishing this Nada Jatra.

Gulha mela

In Sundargarh area the liquor contractors have been permitted to establish their outlets at Birulia. But in order to get more profit they regularly open small liquor shops in almost all tribal villages by bribing the village

Summary of the Speech

On the above two topics about 45 speakers gave their comments. First after the recital of Yedic hymns, Mr. K. K. K. spoke. He spoke briefly in a low voice. He pointed out that the Kisan society is considered low on account of the poor condition of the Kisan society. He also spoke about the Kisan society and Kisan culture and Kisan character and Kisan hope. He also spoke about the social status. He also spoke a few words about Christianity how they should not be lured by the Christian missionaries and change their religion.

The delegate of Phelbart, a land-owning cultivator (Age 45) who had been a Congress member but later contested the general election on the Bharatbandh party ticket, delivered his speech in an emphatic and loud voice. His text was as follows:

He scolded his tributaries for their
indolence, and
scolded the Government for their excess
policy. Finally
"Gallion alone is the root of all evil. Do
not tempt your people." The
Government, however, was
absent all the time, though there were
illegal and unauthorised. During

the illiterate and corrupt practices of
the Advisors. We have to protest
to the higher condition of life of the
non-Advisors "Sar" he said. "Now non-
Advisors get good posts, earn handsome
pay in the factory of Rourkela. Why
is none of the Advisors holding such
high posts? We are educated
drunkards, so we fail to prosper in our
life. We should try to improve our
condition by competing with non-
Advisors."

The French are. Creoles of Sea-
faring folks are as usual, young
men aged 10, in the muckos, speak

asked, "Why should we hold such meetings and pass such resolutions without examining how far these can be put into practice?" "The Kanna girls would not take us far" he said, "so long as they are not strictly enforced."

The delegate of Tenterworth (Age 26) besides reiterating the utility of education and evil effect of gallon liquor emphasised the need of restricting the movement of Kanna women. "Women are like Llamas", he said, "on whom depend the prestige of a people. Our women go to markets, work in factories and mines and thus come in contact with various people who take advantage of the free movement of our women. As such we should take care of our women-folk and should not allow them to go out freely whenever they like."

The delegate of Kartiknagar, a young Atharva School Teacher (Age 27), in an impressive speech asked audience not to just hear something in the meeting and do the contrary at home. He explained how a person who sincerely tries to translate the reformative proposals into action is severely critical and not cared in the village. Explaining how the institution of Kachh encourages young girls and gives free license to young men, he enquired, "What girls go to dance in the Kachh? Why our girls are untagged in formation?" Explaining the reasons for such events he answered, "It is because the parents do not take care of their daughters. They do not give their girls in marriage early. No doubt they perform the betrothal ceremony quite early or in time. But the girls are not given away in the marriage at appropriate time. The betrothal is

people come each year, request the bride's father to give his daughter in marriage but he turns a deaf ear to their entire list. The girl in our society earns and the parents like to enjoy the fruits of her labour. With the postponement of her marriage she is forced to satisfy her sexual urge in illicit ways. Finally when the girl is married away she is completely subjugated like the dummie pull out of which butter has been taken away" (Loud applauds).

The newly elected Joint Secretary, the Chief Organizer of that year's meeting, a young high school teacher (Age 27) emphasised mainly on the need of educating women. Deprecating the present low status of Kanna women who work as labourers and fall an easy prey to unscrupulous he stressed the need of educating them. "Our women should be educated. They should come forward and join in open meeting where they can discuss their own problems. Every individual should try to educate his daughter or daughter-in-law. He again had vehemently the Kanna belief system regarding *Dhama* (*Dhama* *sonar* *ki*) and *Mara* (*Mara* *watch-dancer*) and appealed to all to give up such blind faith and judge everything rationally. He narrated how they were trying to get *Gover* *maur* *grass* for construction of a building for the Kanna Jati Sabha."

The meeting continued till evening. Besides the above speakers two primary school teachers, a factory worker and two land owning cultivators gave their speeches almost in the same line. Finally the President, a reputed political worker, who worked in Praga Mandal during pre-independence days, explained in his short speech how people should try to understand things correctly and adopt right things in

spite of hisdances. To illustrate this point he explained, "We know that liquor liquor shops are illegal and Government should abolish these draconically. But in case Government do not take strong steps these illegal shops would collapse automatically the moment we stop drinking there". He emphasized that the use of liquor in our socio-religious rituals should be abolished altogether. Thus ended the first session.

The Second Sitting

The next sitting which started in the afternoon and continued throughout the entire evening discussed mainly the marriage regulation. Of course no voting was taken to arrive at any decision yet everybody was allowed to participate in the discussions which was very informal. The upper age-limit within which a girl should be given away in marriage the amount of bride-prize for a newly married girl, widowed women and a married woman, the social status of offspring of a Kisan father having a spouse of either higher or lower caste, the punishment for a Kisan woman who sleeps away with another and such other problems

regarding marriage were discussed. The Secretary took the charge of drafting the regulations on the basis of these discussions.

The meeting continued late in the night. Finally there was the mass dinner in which only rice and Dal were served. The people of nearby villages returned to their own villages while the people of distant villages slept under the mango grove either on cots or on mats spread over the ground.

On the next day (the 2nd May 1962) starting the meeting continued as usual though majority of the audience had referred to their respective v. villages. In the morning session here was further discussion on caste rules and regulations. In the meeting two complaints were filed. In one case a woman who had been betrothed to the complainant's son, i.e. v. son, wanted through the form of marriage by intrusion (Dhakka) and the complainant had prayed for compensation from the bride's father. But as the members of the other party were not present the trial of the case was postponed for spot enquiry. Finally the meeting was over at about eleven O'clock.

The Ranas (also known as Rana Pukas) are an Oryia speaking caste found mostly around Barpeta town and Barpeta town & its environs. According to their oral myth, Seven brothers, their ancestor Rana being one, established their capital of the 'Joy' (i.e. prosperity) and took military posts under the Ra's there. Rana means Ra'mo and Ra'bu. Sepoy and some of them are also known as arm-bearing men, not true to Mahabharata. Whatever may be the source of their migration, the Ranas are a nation of the great Pukas (also found in large number in Barpeta).

Rahuli Pukas

Other endogenous sections of the caste are (a) Barhakha Pukas, (b) Pukas or Dhuwa Pukas, (c) Katis or Kuma Pukas. Among these sections, the Barhakha Pukas occupy the highest position in the social hierarchy. But the Ranas do not agree to connect

themselves either with the Barhakha Pukas or Pukas of the case, from whom the former do not accept food. On the other hand, the latter are also found in the Barpeta & Dhemaji area but also have their own names. The Ranas do not accept and from any other caste or tribe except Brahmins that the Barhakha Pukas go far beyond them and do not take a place in the ladder of Hinduism. Moreover when they marry with other castes like the Brahmins or a Brahmin's daughter they do not eat food from the kitchen because they do not find a new earthen pot or vessel for the Ranas and the Barhakha Pukas. The Pukas Pukas who were once beef-eaters in the past occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. Both the Barhakha and the Rana Pukas wear sacred thread and some items like as Ashvathya. At present they do not belong to distinct castes rather than as the sections of the main Pukas caste.

By G. —

The Rara society has got nine homogeneous class. Each class is again

sub-divided into several sub-clans. The names of the clan and sub-clans are given below:

Class	Meaning	Sub-classes
1. Khita	Tiger	Dhru, Mac, Mazar, Majhi, Ma, Ma, Mach, Pandhan and Poda.
2. Kharu	Shrew	Badan, Bhagya, Bhera, Bheria, Bheri, F, Jai, Kajal, Kafal, Kajay, Kajri, Majhi, Patar, Pujari, Pandhan, Sagri.
3. Haseen	Snake	Pamang, Phur.
4. Khabod or Kubod	Bear	Machha and Ma, Ma
5. Bandi	Goat	Da, pat, Pujari, Tam, Tengal.
6. Ganta	Ant	Machhi, Majhi, Pandhan.
7. Suhu	Cow	Naenda (Nauna,
8. Pampi	Rito	Sangarhi.
9. Golam	Monkey	

The names of clans and sometimes that of sub-clans are used as surnames by the respective clan-members or sub-clan members. Clans bearing the similar names are also found among the Pata, Paku, Kula, Paku, Barhada Paku, and Dom.

The Russas are primarily a horticultural people, landless farm, no work in the cities. They produce rice, maize, sugar, manioc, beans, etc., mainly. They also grow various types of vegetables. Forest products are also collected and fishing is resorted to at times. In their spare time they work for wages.

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Races are endogamous and marriage with a Kathi Palis only is tolerated. Marriage among them is primarily

governed by the rule of close exogamy. The sub-clans are not significant from the point of marriage. Cross-cousin marriage (a boy marrying mother's brother's daughter) is preferred and the mother's brother and wife's father are described by the same kith p term (i. e., Mana or Mana). Monogamy is the common practice, although there is no restriction for polygynous marriage. Widow remarriage is strongly approved. In this case the payment of bride-prize known as *fela* is not required to be made. There is provision for both wife and husband to demand for divorce on various grounds, e.g., incompatibility of temperaments, absence of any virtue, infidelity and laziness on the part of the wife. To effect a divorce the

3. The nature of evidence in evidence law

junction of the caste members consisting of the influential caste-members of both the spouses (of the husband and the wife) should be obtained and the declaration is to be made before the caste-elders. When a person wants to divorce his wife on a reasonable ground, he is required to pay Rs. 0-00 as compensation to the girl's family and in case of divorce demanded by the wife her parents have a right to the bride-price paid during the marriage. Children, if any, stay with the father after divorce.

There is prevalence for childless marriage but it occurs very rarely. Common age at marriage is between 9 to 22 years for boys and 6 to 18 years in case of girls. The boys and girls have freedom in the selection of age. Even in case of arranged marriage, the consent of the girl and the boy concerned is obtained. When girl has been captured for marriage, the willingness of the girl is to be sought in the presence of the influential caste-members of the village. If she does not give her consent, she is allowed to go back to her parents. Dancing expedition on the occasions of the wedding and the marriage provides scope for pre-marital intimacy.

The Rana society has provided various ways of acquiring males for marriage. The present practice is confined to following ways:

(a) *Marital*—i.e. marriage by negotiation

(b) *Alfa*—Marriage by elopement

(c) *Shaka-Ura*—Marriage by capture

(d) *Pota-mund*—Marriage by inheritance.

(e) *Gharjan* Marriage by service

All the above types of marriage are also found among the Patta Paka Kuma Paka, Gedba and Prenja.

In the *Marital* type of marriage the bride is selected by the boy's parents with the help of relatives (go-betweens) who pay several visits to the bride's family at the end of Hindu ceremony. The bride price known as *Shaka* or *Pana* which is fixed in a joint meeting of both the parties generally consists of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100/- cash. If it is paid in kind, it consists of 150 kg of rice, seven pieces of clothes and Rs. 6/- in cash. The marriage takes place in the boy's village. The binding ritual of the marriage consists of joining the hands of the bride and the groom by the *Dusari* (Priest) near the temporary altar constructed for the purpose. The occasion is marked by dancing, singing and drinking by the persons present on the occasion. As it is the most elaborate and expensive type of marriage, the poor Ranas prefer other types prescribed by their society.

In case of *Alfa* type of marriage, the lovers when forced any distance in their marriage either from their parents' side or from any other source, run away to some other village, preferably to a distant place where his or her relatives live. After staying there for more than three days, they come back to the house of the boy when their parents are satisfied. After that they can live as wife and husband. Later on the kinsmen of the girl come to demand the bride-price. The occasion is celebrated with a feast to the guests and the caste-members of the village.

The *Shikshana* type of marriage, otherwise known as "marriage by capture" is very common among the Ranas. It involves both ceremonial and physical capture of girl for marriage. Very often capture takes place at the request of the boy or girl's parents to evade the exorbitant expenditure involved in the regular marriage. When both the boy and the girl give their consent and the parents agree to the proposal the date and the probable place for capture are fixed. On the appointed day the boy accompanied by his 4-5 close friends goes to carry away the girl who will be sent to this place under some pretext. The bride is expected to scream and to cry for help. On hearing a few persons come to rescue and sometimes mock fighting takes place. On arrival at the boy's house, the girl is decorated with a new saree in the binding rite to legalize the marriage. The girl's parents accompanied by the influential villagers come to demand the bride-price. After fixing the amount of bride-price the guests are entertained in a feast.

Sometimes a girl is captured without the previous consent of the girl and her parents. In this case the capture of girl by a boy with the help of his friends takes place at the time inter-village dancing or the occasions of festival and marriage. When the parents of the girl come to know the incident, they along with the villagers come to the boy's village and demand the release of the girl who is kept hidden in the house of some other family. The girl's party abuse and threat the boy's family and ask the girl to come out. If the girl is unwilling, she forcibly comes out and surrenders herself. The boy's parents

at the first instance try to pacify the girl's party by feeding them with festive meals. If the girl is willing, she is asked three times to give her consent. Then the bride-price is fixed. If the girl is willing but the parents do not give their consent, the girl is covered with a new saree as the final step to complete the marriage. The occasion is celebrated with feasting, drinking, dancing and singing.

When a married woman runs away with another person or is being captured by another a compensation known as *rogatha* is demanded by the previous husband.

In the *Palivendhi* type of marriage a girl goes and enters into the house of the boy whom she loves but does not get his response. If the boy and his family do not like the idea, she is not allowed to stay with them. The villagers and the parents of the girl are immediately informed about the incidence with a request to induce the girl to return back to her house. The girl is thus forced to go back. Sometimes she is forced to stay. In case of her decision, when the boy's family find her obstinate in her decision, she is allowed to stay. After three days, the boy and girl are recognized as husband and wife. The girl's parents do not come to know since they are unengaged in a fest.

The marriage by service is known as *Gharjyan*. This type of marriage is preferred by the boy of a poor Rana who cannot afford to pay the bride-price. Under such circumstances a humble Rana has to serve in the family of his prospective father-in-law for three years. During this period he remains as a family member

When the vegetated period is over he marries the girl at the expense of the girl's family. After marriage the couple may return to boy's village or may stay, if they so desire in the girl's village by establishing a separate house. Sometimes a well-to-do father-in-law provides them with seed and capital for cultivation. In such case they settle down there.

Religious Practices

Religious festivals observed by the Ramas are very few in number. In the month of *Asarha* (June-July) the festival of *Amaragundha* is celebrated collectively in the village. Collection of subscription is made to purchase a she-goat and to meet the expenses of the worship. A wooden car of *Ambari* is constructed. All the *dwara* of the village, a shed of twigs and leaves is built for the ceremony. The village priest known as *Pujari* drags the car to the outskirts of the village and performs the puja. The goat is sacrificed and festive meals are prepared and taken. On the *annakaraya* day of *Asarha* (June-July) they perform the ceremony of *Bandapoo* and plant *Kenda* *Bheru*, *Charengi* branches in the paddy fields. Those who can afford to, sacrifice a fowl or offer a coconut in the paddy fields for a bumper crop. In the month of *Shashana* (August-September) the ceremony of *seed sowing* of new rice is celebrated. When the up-land rice is ready for harvest an auspicious day is fixed. On that particular day, each family hush new rice in the closed room. The older members of a *Bheru* lineage whose wife is alive, offer food prepared from the new rice to the names of the ancestors. On that occasion festive

meals prepared from new rice are taken. In the "month of *Kartika*" (October-November) when the up-land rice is harvested, they perform the *Utsav* *parah*. All the families of the lineage perform the *pitru aradhika* collectively in the house of the eldest member of the lineage. While uttering the names of their dead ancestors head of each family places hillocks of new rice. Next day morning a woman of the lineage will fetch water without the knowledge of others to cook food. The cows and bullocks are fed with the cooked rice. The members of *Utsav* eat by drinking wine or rice-beer and festive meals.

The *Pur* *Parah* is observed on the full-moon day of the month of *Pur* (December-January). There is shooting of articles by the village youths. A goat is purchased collectively by the youths and sacrificed in the village shrine. The whole night is spent in singing a folk song and dancing *divasika* dance.

The most important festival is the *Chait* *parah* in the month of *Chait* (March-April) when the ceremonial hunting of the year takes place. All families excluding the Christians and Muslims observed it collectively. Preparation of feed-joints is started in week before the festival. Meeting of the village elders is convened and collector of subscription to meet the expenses of the ceremony is made. At the auspicious moment declared by the *Bheru* a small quantity of seeds is carried by each family to the village shrine. The *Pujari* (village priest) will perform the worship and sacrifice a he-goat to village deities. Then the seeds are distributed among the families.

Next morning, all the capable male members of the village will go for hunting to be led by the person, who is selected by the *Dharmi*. On return from the forest the *Pujari* worships the village deities. At the outskirts of the village, the party meet the animals killed on that day and eat. On the following day they will deposit their weapons under a tree at the outskirts of the village and a *shikar-mang* (short pucy) at the village. Next day the villagers go for *gaman* (hunting). Capable persons who do not join the hunting party are fined one tussar each by the village Panchayat and women will throw coconuts at them. A worship with an egg is performed for

Baba Durga (Forest deity) for success in hunting and then they proceed to the forest.

On their return from a successful hunt, women of the village go to welcome them with garlands of flower. The animals killed on the day are carried to the place of village Thaumaran. The *Pujari* performs a puja and most of the animals are distributed among the hunters. Hunting will continue till they kill all animals.

During these days the villagers both men and women take liquor and continue to sing and dance till late in the night.

The Bhunyas

The Bhunyas are one of the few tribes whose different branches represent various stages of cultural evolution from the most or less primitive culture of Hill Bhunyas to the semi-nomadic Hinduized plains Bhunyas. Some of the Jarawar tribes Bhunyas, however, claim to have Rajput or Kshatriya descent. The Bhunyas have an extensive distribution of varying numerical strength over a number of States like Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Chittagong and Orissa, etc.

At present they are found chiefly in two different stages of cultural development in the most primitive Hill or Pauni Bhunyas of Keonjhar, Bargarh and Puri areas on one hand and more advanced plains Bhunyas of Barisal and Chittagong on the other.

The name "Bhunyas" seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit term "Bhumi", meaning land. Hence the Bhunyas designate themselves either as the descendants of the land or as the owners of land. They have a legend to support their association with the land which goes to how the Bhunyas took one of the arts presented to them by Dharmadeva at the time of the creation of Earth and opening the jar they found that it was full of earth. So they treated earth as their wealth and called themselves Bhunyas. They thus developed such strong love with

the land that it was considered to be most sacred and was revered more than the mother. The severe oath taken in serious case by the Bhunyas is by "touching the earth only". It is believed that one who takes oath by holding soil in his hand becomes a part of the soil.

Judging from their social and cultural activities the Bhunyas are classified in the Koli group by Mr. George Russell, Hutton and Colson in 1903. The Bhunyas numbers 144,072 a number with three different sections of varying names. In Sundarbans the Pauni Bhunyas are made of at least seven such sections of the Bhunyas like in order of their social hierarchy such sections are known as Bajhola Bhunyas, Saori Bhunyas, Kusia Bhunyas, Kanta Bhunyas, Mai Bhunyas, Pauni Bhunyas and Purulia Bhunyas. It is very difficult to get exact figures distinguishing such sections by non-acceptance of one and 'bad' and the prohibition of intermarriage between the sections are the two important features of their quasi-tribal nature of the tribe. The last section, namely Bajhola Bhunyas are considered to be a separate tribe and the rest of the population may be broadly categorized as plains Bhunyas and Pauni Bhunyas. Socially economically and culturally the other and a backward less least affected by the Hindu culture of the plains people and their name connotes that they dwell on the hills. Pahar.

Population and Distribution

The Bhuiyans numbering 146,278 according to 1961 Census are

distributed over the various districts as follows.

Table showing the distribution of Bhuiya population in Orissa—

Serial No.	Name of the district	Bhuiya population		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Koraput	36,478	36,298	72,686
2	Sundargarh	22,664	22,414	45,08
3	Mayurbhanj	14,966	4,656	29,62
4	Sambalpur	8,379	8,146	16,525
5	Dhankot	1,063	1,080	2,143
6	Katihar	1,061	1,045	2,106
7	Balasore	...	951	1,902
8	Cuttack	...	596	992
9	Koraput	...	187	187
10	Puri	...	176	176
11	Bolangir	...	110	110
12	Phulbani	...	20	20
Total		79,053	77,621	146,674

The Bhuiyas have lost their own language at present and speak a form of Oriya, which has peculiar pronunciations.

The Article

The present article describes the methods of hunting among the Poor Bhuiyas of Keonjhar, Sundargarh district.

The article aims at analysing the importance of hunting in the socio-economic life of the Bhuiyas and in bringing forth the change of traditional traits associated with hunting. The article is based on the data collected by interviewing of Poor Bhuiyas of Keonjhar and by witnessing a hunting ceremony in full.

Hunting

Bow and arrow constitute the only hunting implements of the Bhuiyans. Whenever a Pauri goes out he takes a bow and a bunch of arrows with him just for safety in the jungle. On his way amidst thick forest, he may meet some prey and may kill it, but this may not be strictly viewed as hunting. Besides, on some off day a Bhuiyan may occasionally go in search of a hunt all by himself, but this phenomenon is so rare that individual hunting is given least attention in Bhuiyan society.

The communal hunting expeditions reveal interesting features of Bhuiyan social, economic and religious life. *Akhan Paribh*, the annual hunting festival, marks the first day of hunting for the Bhuiyans. It is held on the third day of the moon in the month of *Chait* (*Akshaya Tritiya*).

The preceding evening, the *Nak* (village Head man) meets the villagers in the *Dwarpur* (dormitory house) and informs them that they are to start on *Akhan Paribh* on the following day. The men who wish to join in hunting observe continence and sleep away from their wives on the forenight. Early in the morning all assemble in the *Dwarpur* armed with their bows and arrows and with drums and sticks to drive out the game. The hunters bring seven bows, seven arrows, two chickens and offering materials like *Akate* (baked paddy) and turmeric powder to the *Nak*. The *Nak* worships the *Dharam Devta* (Sun God), *Banshi* (Earth Goddess), *Ganesh* (Village deity) and *Apsar* at the outskirt of the village and slaughters two chickens in their honour. He sprinkles the blood on the bows and arrows and prays "Today we are celebrating the *Akhan Paribh* let the hunters meet all sorts of game on their way and let them be able to shoot down all". He also burns some incense and tobacco to please the forest and hill spirits (*Dughar* and *Duski*) to ensure

success in hunting. The offered chickens are burnt and the person joining the hunting party are given little of such meat to eat before they start on hunting.

The only method adopted by the Bhuiyans in communal hunting is beating at the bushes and driving the animals. After reaching in the jungle the party splits off into two groups. The daring and fearless persons having hunting reputation in the past are selected as *Ghatar*. They sit on key places through which the animals are expected to pass and hide themselves behind the trees. The rest of the party beat at the bushes, shout at the peak of their voice, throw stones and make peculiar noises to drive the animal toward the *Ghatar*. As soon as the game runs near by the *Ghatar* they shoot it down by their bows and arrows. As soon as the game is bagged the *Dhuri* (the village priest), or any elderly man (in the absence of the *Dhuri*) takes some of the blood and offers to the *Dharam Devta*, *Banshi*, *Ganesh*, *Apsar* and *Dughar* and pray—"There we are offering the first blood of the slain animal. May we attain success in hunting in future". The man whose arrow kills the animal also takes some blood from the game and offers to his family members praying for success in future hunting.

After the animal is shot down all go to the *Nak*'s house with the game. They are greeted by the ladies who wash the feet of the hunters with turmeric water, anoint their forehead and chin with turmeric powder and kiss them.

The meat is cut down into pieces except the head of the animal, one loin, and hind quarter. One of the boys comes down secretly from a corner and imbibes the gall of the slain animal. He is beaten by the leg of the animal on his back and is given the leg portion to fry and eat. Before the meat is distributed, some meat, the brain and hearts of the game are fried on charcoal and offered to the deities on

Jambu leaves. Such offering is made thrice, i.e., on behalf of the persons who participated in the hunt, on behalf of the hunter whose arrow killed the animal and on behalf of the *Burabhai* (villagers).

The two hind quarters of the game are presented to the *Nek* as *Akhad Bhar* (percentage of the hunt) and one of the loins is offered to the hunter. The rest of the meat is equally divided into two shares. One share is equally distributed between all the members who joined in the hunting party and the other share is equally distributed between all the families of the village.

The *Nek*, in return, rewards the hunter with a cloth of ten cubits if a *Sambhar*, or pig of a deer is shot, and a *Gomach* (mugger) for a *Kaser* (barking deer). In lieu of cloth he may give twelve annas for the long cloth, and four annas for the napkin. Besides, he offers a basketful of rice cakes to the members of the party both in successful and unsuccessful hunting.

The ceremonial hunting is observed for three consecutive days, i.e., the first day being the *Nek*'s day, the second for the *Gheri* and the final day for the *Burabhai* (villagers). The similar procedures are followed on all the day except that the *Nek* presents the party with a basketful of rice cakes on the first day to carry with them to the forest and the village ladies offer *mota* cakes and rice cakes on the third day, i.e., the day observed for the villagers.

Conclusion

A study of the hunting practices of the Pauri Bhuiyans and the associated rites and rituals throws much light on the various aspects of their life and culture. It tends to unfold the belief system of the people on the one hand and throws light on varying obligation between the members of different units of their social organization. The specific points of interest can briefly be stated in the following:—

(1) Hunting is more a religious observance than a quest of food for the Bhuiyans. The Bhuiyans lead a

lonely life on the hills surrounded by countless forest and hill spirits. To be safeguarded by these spirits, it is essential to please them at least once a year by the sacrifices and offerings. Hence, the Bhuiyans observe the ceremonial hunting of *Akhad Parikhi* to avert the ill-will of the spirits and to please them by hunting some animals and offering their blood.

For a successful hunting ritual the Bhuiyans observe a series of taboos to maintain purity and sanctity. The persons whose wives are during their menstruation cycle are neither allowed to join in the hunting party, nor do they come to watch the ritual performed at the crossroads of the village to ensure success in hunting. On the previous night of the *Akhad Parikhi* day, the persons desirous of joining in the hunting party observe strict continence and sleep in a separate bed from their wives. Just before starting for hunting, the persons should not see the face of the menstruating ladies, which may spoil the chance of success in hunting.

The *Nek* also observes continence on the previous night so as to enable himself to perform the ritual for the success in the hunting in the next morning. He offers chickens, hucked rice and turmeric powder to the deities and bribes the spirits by burning incense and tobacco for a successful hunt.

(2) The various rite and rituals associated with hunting reflect on the belief system of the Pauri Bhuiyans. Segregation of women from the hunting rituals is based on the idea that the presence of menstruating ladies will avert the spirits and the deities and may result in unsuccessful hunting. Hence every precaution is taken to avoid the ladies during the hunting expedition. Women, being the weaker sex, cannot very well practically go for hunting, but more particularly the fact that they suffer from periodical pollution debars the ir privilege to be associated in hunting.

The Bhivans believe in the causal relation between successful hunting and bumper harvest. According to them successful hunting during *Akhoni Parabhi* indicates a rich harvest in the current year, and this belief keeps them alert to safeguard all the evils obstructing success in hunting.

(3) To assure successful hunting the Paurs believe in and perform sympathetic rites. The two chickens sacrificed by the *Nek* just before the party starts on hunting is believed to contain the spiritual power of the gods and goddesses to whom these are offered and if the members of the party eat a bit of such meat they soon possess such power and may thus be able to slay any game they meet.

The blood of the chickens, after sacrifice is also believed to carry such power and hence the *Nek* sprinkles it on seven bows and arrows just to help for the success in hunting.

The arrow which kills the animal is brought out from the body of the prey and is never washed in water. The bloodstained arrow-head is let to dry out. By doing so it is believed that the arrow would always kill more game in future and would remain bloodstained for ever.

After the game is killed and before the meat is distributed one of the members of the hunting party acts like the slain animal and imitates its gait. Crawling down he comes from a corner and passes by before the hunters. One of the members of the hunting party takes a log of the game and hits the imitator back with it. This signifies that in future hunting no game can escape the look of the hunter and the hunters would be able to kill all the animals they meet.

Before the meat shares are distributed, the brain, hearts and some meat is roasted on ember and shares are offered to the spirits and the deities for whose favour they had a

success in hunting. The meat thus offered is considered sacred and is believed to carry the "power". The husbands of the menstruating ladies are not allowed to eat such meat. If any outsider eats such meat the real hunting power is believed to be transmitted to his body and the villagers may not have the good luck to have more success in hunting.

(4) Hunting is a perfect occasion where one can notice the interplay of various relations. Hunting is purely a communal affair, which involves co-operation of all the villagers. Each village has to hunt within its boundary demarcated from the time of the Raja. Since successful hunting indicates rich harvest, it becomes the duty of all the villagers to try heart and soul to make the hunting expedition a success. Generally each family deputes one or more of its male members to participate in the hunting, and it is the responsibility of the village ladies to collect meat and paddy from all the houses and prepare cakes for the party on the third day of the *Akhoni Parabhi*.

Distribution of meat is made keeping in view the social and political life of the village. The hunter must get an extra share for his ability to kill the prey, but *Nek*, the head of the village, gets two half shares by dint of his status and authority in the village. The *Dhuri* is not given any special portion of meat, but is always given an extra amount for holding an office in the village. All the families get shares of meat whether anyone participated in the hunting or not.

Getting extra meat, on part of the *Nek* is more of prestige value because the cost he has to bear for returning the gift of cloth and cakes to the hunters is much more than the actual cost of the meat he gets. It may also be noted that the *Nek* does not eat all the meat he gets as a special share. This meat is divided into three shares.

The Naik distributes one share between the families of his closer lineage group and gives the final share to rest of the families of the village. The hunter also distributes some meat from his special share between the families of his closer lineage group.

Recent changes in hunting practices

In course of time the Bhuiyans are getting more modern in their outlook and are dropping out their traditional custom associated with hunting. Some of the Bhuiyans have managed to acquire guns and are hunting game on their own sweet will. Hunting is gradually becoming more individualistic in nature. The man having a gun may give little meat to his villagers but he sells the major portion of the game and gets money for it.

Another marked change is noticed in the attitude of the Paunies for hunting. In the old days jungle was thick and the game were plenty all around. Hence, the chance of success in hunting was far greater than in the present days when most of the jungles around the Bhuiyans' country

are frequently cut down for shifting cultivation and the wild animals are rapidly decreasing in number. These difficulties, however, have least affected the age old belief system of the people, and they still observe the hunting ceremony with all its detail. Posts of new leaders have been created in the village, but the new leaders are never given special share of meat in hunting. The Naik continues to enforce his traditional status in the village and get the land quarters of the dead animal as usual. The amount of reward the Naik used to give to the hunter has, however, been increased. Since the price of the cloth which costed twelve annas in the good old days has now been increased to two or three rupees, the Naik now offers two rupees in lieu of the cloth instead of the twelve annas he used to pay in the past. The hunting customs and practices of the Pauri Bhuiyans, as described in this article, however, does not apply to the life of the plains Bhuiyans and may be different from the Pauri Bhuiyans of Bhuiyapark of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj districts, but the general trend may be almost identical.